

YUGOSLAV PARTISANS

**The Truth about the National Liberation
Army and the legend of Drazha
Mikhailovich**



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INTRODUCTION

The people of Yugoslavia and their heroic struggle against Hitler Fascism are honoured the world over by all who love freedom. It is they who have shown how a subjugated people can fight against the Nazi juggernaut.

But even today the true facts of their resistance are little known to the people of our country. British propaganda inspired by reactionaries inside the exile Yugoslav Government has effectively served to bolster up the traitor Mihailovich as a great guerilla leader while ignoring the real inspirers of Yugoslavia's wonderful struggle for independence, the Partisans.

This pamphlet seeks to clear away all this confusion and tell exactly what is happening in Yugoslavia, how the common people are fighting to win their freedom and build a new democratic Yugoslavia in a free world.

The first part is an article by Mirko Markovitch, prominent Yugoslav leader in U.S.A., which deals with Mihailovich's role in Yugoslavia.

The second is an extract from "The Peoples of Europe versus Hitler" by B. Ponomarev, published from Moscow. This gives the origin of the struggle of the Yugoslav partisans and traces their history.

The third consists of copies of original documents of the National Liberation Army, etc. published by prominent Yugoslavians for the first time in U.S.A.

The fourth is an article on Yugoslavia which appeared in *People's War*, Vol. II, No. 18, dated October 31, 1943. It contains the latest news about the strength of the Partisans and their relationship to Mihailovich.

—EDITOR.

The Truth About the Partisan Army and the Legend of Drazha Mikhailovich

By MIRKO MARKOVICH

ON APRIL 5, 1941, Hitler entered Yugoslavia with his troops and succeeded in occupying the country within a week's time. As in Norway, the speed of his accomplishment was made possible by the aid of certain collaborationists within Yugoslavia itself, men such as Nedich and Pavelich. The army was either destroyed or captured, and the government of General Simovich was driven into exile in London. Whatever state apparatus remained, both central and local, rendered service to the invaders.

Momentarily, there seemed to be no leadership for the anti-fascist sections of the Yugoslavian population. But those who counted Yugoslavia lost did not reckon with the courage and resourcefulness of the people themselves. From the very day when Hitler announced that Yugoslavia was his, the heroic resistance of the people began to make itself evident. Without waiting for material assistance or philosophizing on their chances for ultimate victory, thousands of Yugoslavian patriots, both men and women, retired to the mountains, determined to fight to the end for the freedom of their country. Without provisions or arms, these sons and daughters of all the peoples of Yugoslavia organized a Partisan and Volunteer Army to wage relentless war on the invaders, both German and Italian, and their Quisling hirelings.

By the summer of 1942 the guerrilla army numbered 300,000 fighters who, by unceasing attacks, regained approximately one-third of the territory which had been seized by the occupationists. Writing with their life's blood some of the most dramatic pages in the history of the United Nations' struggle against fascism, these guerrilla fighters succeeded in establishing a well defined front stretching for hundreds of miles, from the frozen carves of the Karavanke Mountains in the north to the Shar Planina in the south. Except for the Soviet front, this has literally been the only other European offensive against Hitler and his aides. Is it any wonder then, that this Partisan Army became in a year and a half a symbol of the power of anti-fascist national unity, and of direct offensive action against fascist tyranny, winning the envy and admiration of the whole world?

Associated with the news reports of the guerrilla successes has been the name of Drazha Mihailovich. Dispatches from Istanbul, Cairo and London have built him into a legendary figure, ascribing to him and the Serbian Chetniks every triumph of the people's army, until his name has become a synonym for aggressive action against the forces of fascism in occupied countries.

Suddenly on June 16, "Free Yugoslavia," the short-wave radio station of the Supreme Command of the Partisan Army, broadcast an announcement that shocked the entire world. Partisan leaders from Montenegro, Boka Kotorska and Sandjak, at a conference, passed a resolution questioning the patriotism of Drazha Mihailovich, War Minister of the Yugoslavian Government in exile, and accusing him of treasonable collaboration with the fascist invaders. After "Free Yugoslavia" had broadcast the news, the authenticity of the report was confirmed by several additional news dispatches from Moscow.

The seriousness of the accusations against Drazha Mikhailovich was proven by the fact that they were signed by no less than seventy-five persons, all prominent citizens of Yugoslavia, well known to the people of that country for their devotion to the cause of national unity and the destruction of the invaders. The popular Senator Marko Vujachich, Colonel Savo Orovich, several heroic priests and leading figures of the Independent, Democratic, Peasant and Federated Parties and the Farmers' Union, signed their names to the resolution, which states in part:

"In this struggle our people succeeded in freeing large sections of their territory. But precisely at that moment when the occupationists encountered the greatest difficulties, they found allies among the traitors of our people headed by Bajo Stanishich, the Colonel, Major Grigorij, Lachitch and Pavle Djurichich, Captain in the Yugoslavian army. There are documents and evidence that prove these men, on the order and with the aid of Drazha Mikhailovich, carry on armed struggle against our people, receiving aid for this purpose from the occupationists. They are united in Montenegro with the well-known separatist, Krsto Popovich, who for twenty years has been working on behalf of Italy.

"Thus fratricidal war has been provoked and conducted on our territory under the leadership of Drazha Mikhailovich, about whose treachery there is official evidence on the basis of documents found on his Adjutant-Major Todorovich and others."

While accusing the War Minister, the leaders of the Partisan movement asked the Royal Yugoslavian Government in London to put a stop to the collaboration with the enemy by Mikhailovich, and to put an end to the fight which the latter is carrying on against

the Partisan Army in the name of the Government. They declared that the interests of the struggle for the liberation of Yugoslavia demand that the national unity of Yugoslavia, which has been achieved through the Partisan Army, should not be disrupted.

The Regional Partisan Command of Slovenia later published a similar statement about Mihailovich accusing him of treachery and naming several of his men who left the mountains and went into military service with the enemy. In this document, the Slovenian leaders addressed themselves to the Yugoslavian Government in London, recognizing their authority, and asking them to end the disruptive and treacherous work of their War Minister for the sake of national unity and for the liberation of Yugoslavia from the fascist yoke. In its statement, the Slovenian Command expressed a desire to send one of their number as a delegate to the Yugoslavian Government in London.

On August 10 the National Supreme Command of the Partisan Army added these words of affirmation to the accusations of the former conference:

"The press outside Yugoslavia has published news to the effect that the destruction of railroads and the struggle against the occupation forces in Yugoslavia are being carried on under the command of Drazha Mihailovich. The Supreme Command of the Partisan and Volunteer Army considers such a report on the people's liberation struggle in Yugoslavia an evident mistake, for Drazha Mihailovich is not carrying on any fight against the occupation forces. This fight is being led by the Supreme Command of the Partisan and Volunteer Army of Yugoslavia. Mihailovich's Chetniks actually are guarding the railroads, as, for example, the Sarajevo Brod line, from our Partisan troops. This statement is issued over the signature

of the Commander of the Partisan and Volunteer Army, Tito."

Three days later, Vladimir Vlahovich, a young Montenegran and leader of Yugoslavian youth, who lost a leg at Madrid while fighting fascism with the International Brigade, sent an article from Moscow with very specific charges, not one of which has been refuted. He places the treachery of Mikhailovich's forces as far back as November of 1941, when he reports that Major Kalabich, an assistant of Drža Mikhailovich, led his Chetniks against the Partisan units just prior to the great offensive against the liberated territory of Yugoslavia. This was the time of the battle between the Chetniks and the Partisans near Uzhichka Pozhega. The Chetniks were defeated mainly because the rank and file saw where their commanders were leading them. Later, Kalabich, was wounded in a battle with the Partisans. While in a Belgrade hospital, the Quisling Nedich "honoured" him with a visit in order to thank him for his faithful service.

From London, the Yugoslavian Government also honoured this same Kalabich with a medal while he was in Nedich's hospital in Belgrade recuperating from wounds received in fighting the Partisans.

"Another assistant of Drazha Mikhailovich is the ex-Colonel Stanishich who, just before the large-scale Italian offensive against the liberated territory of Montenegro, came into contact with the notorious spy and Montenegran separatist, Krsto Popovich. With the arms given him by the Italians, Stanishich led the Chetniks at the head of the Italian Mountain Divisions against the battalions of the Partisan Army."

Because of these and similar actions of the Yugoslavian Government in exile, Colonel Orovich issued a

statement over "Free Yugoslavia." In this statement he condemned those decrees of the Government whereby it decorated certain officers who were traitors, at the same time degrading other patriots who were fighting and dying in their struggle against the invaders for the liberation of Yugoslavia.

This was the answer of the Government in London, represented by Ninchich, Yovanovich, Gavrilovich and in Washington, by Konstantin Fotich, to the pleas of the guerrilla fighters against Hitler for the restoration of anti-Hitler national unity. Instead of meeting these demands, the Government proclaimed its "complete faith in General Drazha Mikhailovich and in his steadfast resistance to the Axis powers and and his wisdom in handling 'quarrelsome elements' among his own people. . . ." It is evident that the Yugoslavian Government thus acknowledged that the General was in danger of losing his good name even though the New York *Daily Worker*, with its limited circulation, was the only paper that had seen fit to publish the charges against him, and the press from practically every corner of the world rushed to his defence with a series of fabulous counter accusations.

In its anxiety to "clear the good name" of General Mikhailovich, the Yugoslavian Government was apparently moved less by the desire to preserve anti-Hitler national unity than by the fear that the very sequence of events in Yugoslavia would sooner or later substantiate the truth of the charges against him. What is most alarming is the way they tried to clear Mikhailovich's name by presenting the conflict as purely a matter of "trouble with the Communists," the favourite Axis ruse for disrupting national and international unity, trying to preserve at all costs the impression that Mikhailovich is responsible for the victories of the people's army and that the "Communists" are only a troublesome minority.

This is the manner in which Konstantin Fotich, Yugoslav Ambassador in Washington, attempted to misrepresent the whole situation, indirectly confirming the charge that Mikhailovich is attacking only the Partisans. Fotich declared:

"Montenegro, even before the war, was known as the center of the Communist movement in Yugoslavia . . . and most probably the Yugoslavian Communists are afraid of the growing strength, influence and popularity of Mikhailovich because of his determined opposition to Communism, and therefore they are trying to undermine him in order to remove an obstacle to their plan of establishing bolshevism in Yugoslavia."

The usual sources defending Mikhailovich state that he won brilliant successes over the Communists in Montenegro and that he had smashed the Partisan bands. This news arrived here a few days after "Free Yugoslavia" had broadcast through Moscow that the Italians with the Chetniks of Bajo Stanishich, a Mikhailovich man, had killed 300 men, women and children belonging to the Montenegrin clans of Piperi, Kuchi and Ljeskopolje.

This defense of Mikhailovich reaffirms to the world the accusations of the Partisan Army that the General is fighting not against the invaders, but against Yugoslavia's anti-Axis patriots, betraying the entire anti-fascist cause in Yugoslavia.

Since the time that the accusation of the "Free Yugoslavia" station came to the attention of the people of the United Nations, due to the July 26 article in the *Daily Worker*, no one has even attempted to answer factually any of the charges made. All that has been brought forth has been a barrage of untenable misrepresentations emanating from Ankara, Cairo

and London. These statements show more than the usual newspaper contempt for the memory of the average reader, and an incredible disregard for their own previous stories. For example, Ray Brock's article in the *New York Times* of October 5 which stated that "Communist Partisans" had been driven out of Montenegro by Mikhailovich's detachments. Curiously enough, the same dispatch also points with pride to the "broad sweep of guerrilla assaults upon the occupation forces in Bosnia, Dalmatia and Croatia" and other places where the Partisan Army is known to operate and where Mikhailovich's men have never been!

This method is typical of most of the news dispatches attempting to glorify Mikhailovich, and shows how much credence can be placed in news from these sources.

In this same *New York Times* dispatch from Istanbul we read that this Yugoslavian patriot army, whose exploits have been followed with anxious pride by the freedom-loving people of all countries, has suddenly shrunk in size to 30,000 fighters who have changed their character completely, for, should we believe this article, their ranks include only "criminals, renegades, bandits and dissident Croats and Moslems."

If these charges are true, how is it that the Yugoslavian Government and all these "private, well-informed" sources kept these alleged "facts" from the world for sixteen months? There can be only one answer and that is that these "facts" exist only in their imagination. Until recently, these people never made or acknowledged any distinction between the Partisan Army and Mikhailovich. They could not have made such a distinction without undermining the whole legend of the hero Mikhailovich's alleged exploits against the Axis. For these sixteen months the

Yugoslavian Government in exile has spoken of the "patriot army under the leadership of Drazha Mikhailovich," but has consistently announced the military activities of the Partisan Army as they were reported by the "Free Yugolsavia" station as being the activities of the General and the Chetniks. In this manner, they failed to distinguish between these two military groups, needing as they did the victories of the Partisans to attribute to Drazha Mikhailovich, because the Chetniks and Mikhailovich's men were actually not fighting against the Axis and, in their own right, had nothing whatever to report.

Of course, the reader may ask how it is that during these same sixteen months it was possible to attribute victories, which really belonged to the Partisans who were actually fighting the invaders, to Mikhailovich, who was only fighting the Yugoslav "Communists." There can be no doubt that there is a lack of precise information on the part of the general press on the situation within Yugoslavia but, more than that, we are dealing with positive misrepresentation. We Americans will never forget the deadly parallel of the misinformation we received about the Soviet Union over many years, which has cost the United Nations so dearly. This can be seen by looking closely at the sources of our information concerning the Yugoslavian situation.

The one source which has supplied the news of the Partisan Army's activities to the outside world while, at the same time, maintaining communications within Yugoslavia itself, is the short-wave radio station operated by the Supreme Command of the Partisan Army: "Slobodna Yugoslavia," or "Free Yugoslavia." Over this station are broadcast daily war communiques of the brigades and their units, and daily instructions to the civilian population on the manner in which to further their fight against the armies of occupation.

The information received over this radio has been quoted freely by the Yugoslavian Government in London to prove the exploits of their patriots at home. On October 21 from London came word that "according to radio reports from the mountain headquarters of General Drazha Mikhailovich, 'a tremendous battle was being waged in Southern Bosnia' where 1,200 Germans and Axis satellite troops have been killed in three days of fighting against the patriots, who lost 600 to 900 men killed, wounded or captured. . . ."

What "mountain radio" was this? The entire world knows there is only one, and it belongs to the Supreme Command of the Partisan Army, who freely state their names over the air waves. Not once has Drazha Mikhailovich spoken over this short-wave station, or have the broadcasts quoted any pronouncements of his. This radio, "Free Yugoslavia," which in the past has been quoted by the Government and other sources as reporting Mikhailovich's victories, is the very radio that has been broadcasting the charges that Mikhailovich has not been fighting the Axis invaders.

The fact is, Drazha Mikhailovich is not fighting with the Partisan Army but against it. And yet the Yugoslavian Government in London up to a certain time reprinted all the reports of "Free Yugoslavia," gratuitously attributing all the exploits of the Partisan Army to their War Minister's military activities.

Thus, ten days after "Free Yugoslavia" had announced the capture of Livno, London announced that Mikhailovich had captured Livno. A whole month after the Supreme Command had announced the taking of Kljuch, London reported that "the Italians destroyed this town by plane after it was captured by Mikhailovich's men. In the course of the battle for Kljuch, the Chetniks killed seventy Axis men and wounded one hundred...."

Ironically enough, one month before quoting the "mountain radio" as its source of information, the *New York Times* printed a story by Mr. Ray Brock stating that the "Free Yugoslavia" station "is believed to be operating from Italy," inferring that the Axis has a hand in these brilliantly anti-fascist broadcasts which constantly report crushing defeats for the Axis against enormous odds. This statement of the station's location was never, as it could never be, proved. Moscow, whose information sources are far nearer the battle scene than those of the *New York Times*, regularly rebroadcasts as thoroughly authentic the ungarbled news as picked up from "Free Yugoslavia." On the other hand, news stories from Ankara, usually quoting "private sources," have been notorious for their propaganda inaccuracies for some time now, as any responsible government will admit.

Pertinax, writing in the *New York Times* on July 31, unconsciously confirmed the charges of the Partisan Army that Mikhailovich, far from assisting the struggle against the Axis, was actually fighting the Yugoslav partisans when he stated that the views of the underground leaders who are actually leading the fight against the invaders are not always in harmony with the policy and the tactics elaborated by the United Nations' governments. As evidence of this, Pertinax cited Mikhailovich's "struggle against roving bands of Communists . . . because he did not see eye to eye with their leaders about the use to be made of sabotage in the present circumstances."

The charge of "Communism" as the motivating reason for Mikhailovich's attacks on the Partisan Army was actually prophesied by a "Free Yugoslavia" broadcast on July 27 which said:

"In connection with the development and upsurge of the guerrilla liberation struggle in Yugoslavia, the

German-Italian occupation forces are trying by all means to represent the patriots as a kind of 'Communist guerrilla gang' which is allegedly plundering and terrorizing the population. Occupation agents are also spreading a similar slander in the foreign press. The aim of this campaign, which seemingly finds some ready ears even in America, is quite clear. The enemies of our people are trying to undermine the sympathy and support of the freedom-loving peoples for the heroic fighters, for the freedom of our country from the fascist yoke.

"In spite of this dirty work of the fascist hangers-on, our people know and see with their own eyes far better than anyone else that the finest representatives of the people have been shedding their blood for fifteen months, fighting self-sacrificingly against superior enemy forces, and are certainly not 'gangs of robbers.' We can confidently say that the entire people fully support the people's liberation Guerilla and Volunteer Army...."

This warning followed an Axis broadcast picked up from station ROME in the Croat language, which laid down quite simply the manner in which the Axis hoped that the defenders of Yugoslavia would be maligned, confused, separated and their military activities nullified, and which indirectly revealed the real nature of the conflict between the Partisans and Mikhailovich. According to this broadcast, Zagreb reported that Croatian newspapers were publishing a memo under the title of "Measures of Pacification in the Seacoast Area," in which it said that the Italian military authorities in cooperation with the Croatian civilian authorities succeeded in persuading the population of the Adriatic seaboard to reject the Anglo-soviet propoganda, to evacuate the major part of its positions, and return to their homes and daily tasks.

"As far as the seacoast is concerned, the *one-time partisans* are about to annihilate their Communist leaders, and placed themselves at the disposal of the Italian and Croatian authorities. They also formed a special anti-Communist army which is effectively participating in the pacification of the country, and in the extermination of the partisan banditry."

By October 22 the dispatches from London printed in the *New York Times* took on a new and interesting tone, confusing perhaps to those who had followed the fortunes of the Partisan Army, but exhibiting a high degree of creative imagination. According to the *Times* despatch of October 22,

"Private advices said that Major Vladimir Todorovich, one of General Mikhailovich's best officers, had been killed by an *independent band of foreign guerrillas* that had infiltrated into Yugoslavia and was fighting both patriot and Axis forces."

Here indeed a new element has been injected in the counter charges against the Partisan Army. Not only are the heroic members of the people's arm "bandits," "criminals" and "Communists," but they are not even Yugoslavs. Shedding their blood in an anti-fascist war of unparalleled hardships, suddenly these fighters become strangers to the soil for which they are giving their lives, the very soil which nurtured them. No doubt the Partisan Army is waging war on both the Axis and the troops of their own War Minister that so treacherously attacked them. Perhaps they fail to distinguish, as we fail to distinguish, between Hitler and his satellites.

Let us for a moment leave the unanswered charges of the "Free Yugoslavia" radio station, the voice of the people, and the Hysterical counter charges of the

Yugoslavian Government in London and the journalists in Ankara, to examine factually the elements involved in this fratricidal conflict.

The composition of the Partisan Army is not a question open to debate. We know the identity of these fighters. They never hesitate to make known their names on their broadcasts. Far from being "foreign guerrillas" they are the sons and daughters of Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Dalmatia and Macedonia. In other words, all the peoples of Yugoslavia are represented. The only foreigners are those fighting in the two International Brigades which are composed of anti-fascist deserters from the armies of Italy, Austria, Hungary and Germany.

Members of the Partisan Army belong to all faiths or no faith. There are Catholics, members of the Orthodox Church, Mohammedans, Jews, Protestants and atheists. An interesting feature of this national front army is the high percentage of women to be found in the ranks. One-third of all the Partisans are women either engaged in active combat or serving as members of an Auxiliary Corps, such as the Medical.

These patriot fighters belong, as well, to a variety of political faiths from the most conservative monarchists to the Communists. It is true that when these unorganized soldiers first took refuge in the mountains Communists were among them and helped organize them. It is not true that the Partisan Army is made up wholly of Communists or even of a majority. Although preponderantly peasants, workers, intellectuals and craftsmen, there are also representatives from the wealthier sections of the Yugoslavian population.

In the leadership of the Partisan Army there is Savo Orovich, an old Colonel of the Yugoslavian army,

Petar Dapchevich, Kosta Nadj, Vlada Rukavina seasoned young fighters against fascism which they first met and fought in Spain, the very popular Senator Marko Vujachich, the heroic priests, Zechevich, and teachers, officers, lawyers, judges, workers and peasants.

The Partisan Army has its own Supreme Command, while every region has its own Regional Staff subordinate to the central command. The brigades, consisting of battalions, companies and as yet unorganized groups, are the largest military formations.

We ask ourselves what is the motivating force which unites the fighters of such differing faiths, nationalities, political beliefs and classes so successfully that they work in perfect harmony under the banner of the Partisan and Volunteer Army of Yugoslavia?

Their aim is simple: to free their common fatherland from the enemy at no matter what cost, and to revenge their murdered families, their humiliated women, their pillaged country and burned towns and villages. For them there is no life without liberty, so they fight again for liberty or death.

A volunteer in the army is not asked his faith, his political convictions, his racial heritage or the class of which he is a member. He is not even asked what his hopes are for the future of Yugoslavia, or what form of government he would prefer to see installed after the battle is won. The patriots ask only this: "Do you wish slavery under fascism, or do you prefer to fight for the freedom of your country even though it may cost you your life?"

The tactics of the Partisan Army are based on the concept that where fascism is concerned there can be no compromise. To hesitate is to lose. The fighting must be incessant and the end, if not death, must be

victory. Never wait for a more opportune moment for it may never come. Hitler does not wait, he kills. Let every day be a day of attack against the Axis. Do not wait to be better armed, better fed, for such a day will never come if we do not destroy some part of fascism every day. Such is the example of these 300,000 guerrilla soldiers dressed in rags, their feet covered only by worn moccasins, their arms wrested from the enemy by nightly forays, their only hospitals in frozen caves and mountain retreats.

With constant offensive action as their guiding principle, it is not difficult to understand that "Free Yugoslavia" in the spring of 1942 appealed to England and the United States to open a second European front against fascism without further delay.

Let us see whether the policy of never-ceasing attacks on the enemy has borne any of the fruits of victory. The Partisan Army has engaged the enemy in hundreds of battles and uncounted skirmishes. When, in the first half of 1941, there were only between thirty and fifty thousand Partisans in Yugoslavia, in one month and a half the Partisans had killed 12,000 fascists, destroyed 200 bridges, raided and burned 400 enemy food, ammunition and gasoline caches, and derailed seventeen military trains belonging to the Axis.

In September, 1941, the Partisans attacked the town of Baina Bashta; in October of the same year they drove the occupation troops out of large portions of Montenegro, half of Serbia and a large section of Bosnia. During the same month the Partisans surrounded the town of Valjevo, fighting on the line Valjevo-Shabats-Obrenovats.

In the last months of 1941 and in the first months of 1942, the Partisans fought battles of considerable magnitude in the regions of Machva, around Uzhitse,

Chachak, Valjevo, Kragujevats, Milanovats, Lajkovats, Martinats, Stara Pazova, Shabats, Ruma, Frushka-Gora, Byelovar and Karlovats. In addition, they damaged important railroad lines such as those of Mladenovats—Arandjelovats, Kuchovo-Milanovats; Belgrade-Valjevo; Belgrade-Nish and Tsaprag-Topusko.

In Bosnia, by January, they had retaken Focha, Chayniche, Vishegrad and Rogatitsa while the Montenegrin patriots forced the Italians to flee from Podgoritsa and Cetinye. The Regional Partisan Army of Slovenia succeeding in wrecking a train carrying eighty Nazi aviators from Lyublyana to Italy. Not one aviator survived. The Partisans on the Croatian front in this period managed to take 400 Italians prisoner.

In May, 1942, the Italians lost 210 soldiers in the battle for Metkovich. Another hundred perished at Prepelyovats. On May 13, while attacking a column of seventy trucks, General Peride Negri, commander of the Italian army of occupation in Hercegovina, was killed. The next day 300 Italians fell at Nikshich. Gatsko was also a spring victory.

From May 28 to May 31 the Partisans killed over 350 Italian soldiers and officers of an Alpine Division at Malyak and Sandjak, while defeating other troops in Lika and Kordun, near Zadar in Dalmatia, and near Ilirske Bestrice and other towns of Slovenia. Totaling all the invaders' losses for the month of May, there were 1,350 Italian soldiers killed by the Partisan Army.

During the next month Germans, Ustashi and Chetnik troops conducted an offensive against the Partisans in the Kozara Mountains in Bosnia. Successfully repelling the attacks, the Partisans wounded and killed 4,000 of the enemy and destroyed seven tanks.

Following these stubborn winter and spring battles that developed on the territories of Eastern Bosnia, the Sandjak, Montenegro and Hercegovina guerrilla units, surmounting enormous difficulties such as lack of sufficient provisions, uniforms and military equipment, regrouped their forces and in July launched offensive operations on all sectors simultaneously where the largest guerrilla formations were active. Assisted by small guerrilla detachments and shock troops operating in the vicinity of railways and more important cities, the main guerrilla forces attacked along a front stretching ninety kilometers between Sarajevo and Mostar. One of their most important tasks was to take the Bosnia-Hercegovina Railway, and they accomplished this within forty-eight hours. The offensive developed successfully particularly in the region of Bosanska Kraina and in Slovenia. In the course of one month, the guerrilla army liberated some thirty towns from the invaders and several hundred smaller inhabited points.

In the July offensive, the Partisan Army involved in warfare seventeen Italian, four or five German and four Hungarian divisions. That month 10,400 of the enemy were killed and 4,700 were made prisoners.

Practically all of the territory situated between the Adriatic shore and the Zagreb-Banya-Luka-Sarajevo line was controlled by the guerrillas. In the north, in a triangle between the old Yugoslav-Austrian and Yugoslav-Italian border, on the territory of Slovenia, the Partisan Army formed a second large "guerrilla land," consisting of the liberated towns of Trzich, Jesentitse, Kamnik and Zuzenberg.

The victories of the July offensive led to an upsurge of guerrilla activity, particularly in Croatia. The occupation armies were forced to hurl numbers of troops, artillery, air squadrons and ranks against the Partisan Army. They even employed a fleet to shell guerrilla positions along the Adriatic seacoast.

The defenders of Yugoslavia managed in a few months to wipe out two airplane factories, to blow up an ammunition plant near Shibenik, and to render completely useless "Harvatas ka." a cement factory near Podsused. Coal mines in Botovino, Kostolats and other places were put out of commission.

Vrpolye, Setnich and Morkonichgrad were all captured in August, the Germans. Ustashi and Chetniks losing 160 men. Successful raids, using Frushka-Gora as a base, prevented the enemy from exporting large quantities of grain from Yugoslavia to be used by the Axis armies fighting the Soviet Union in the East and the British in Libya.

A partisan unit from Kordun attacked the concentration camp at Yastrobarsko, near Zagreb. After wiping out the fascist guards, the Partisans were able to free 900 children who had been captured and were being held as hostages in the fighting on Kozara Mountain—all of them children of Partisan soldiers. Saved from almost certain death, they are now back home with their parents. Newspapers, with but few exceptions, did not think this brave and touching story worth printing although they had access to it. Perhaps it was because it was impossible to ascribe this feat to Drazha Mihailovich and his Serbian Chetniks.

In September the towns of Tsazin, Foinitsa, Vrgin-Most and Jajtse were liberated. When the last named town was taken, the guerrillas had to dislodge the invaders from a hundred pillboxes and an ancient fortress overlooking all the approaches to the city. A railway junction and the center of the chemical industry, this was a most important victory. Mustard gas was being manufactured in one of the chemical plants. The operations to capture Jajca as well as all operations in Bosanska Kraina were led by the Commander of the Kraish Guerrilla Brigades, Kosta Nadj, former Captain in the Spanish Loyalist Army.

Since the beginning of October several Partisan brigades have been engaged in the battle for Banya-Luka, the administrative center for Pavelich's "Independent Croatia" movement. It is being defended by Germans, Pavelich's Ustashi and the Serbian Chetniks standing side by side.

A list of achievements such as the above could not possibly have been the work of "lawless" elements, or small bands of roving guerrillas with no central purpose, no central command, no military discipline, as the Ankara journalists would have us believe. These are solid anti-fascist victories and only when traced on the map can we appreciate how farflung is this battle line, and what it must cost the enemy in men, supplies and interruption of communications to the Eastern Front.

An estimate of these achievements eventually leads one to ask, what part in this magnificent resistance was taken by Drazha Mikhailovich? E. Berg Holt, writing from London to the *Christian Science Monitor* on September 16, asserts that the relations of this Partisan Army to the Chetniks are "shrouded in mystery" and reports that clashes have occurred between them. This is a "mystery" only if we continue to erroneously assume that the Chetniks are fighting the Axis, or fail to understand that the partisans are the only ones fighting the invaders. Furthermore, if we realize that the Partisan Army is under the Supreme Command already described, and not under Mikhailovich, the mystery should disappear entirely, particularly because these partisan victories have been the only victories against the Axis invaders recorded anywhere.

But Mr. Holt's bewilderment is not at all strange. Although the Yugoslavians engaged in active guerrilla warfare against the invaders called themselves from the very outset "The Partisan and Volunteer Army of

Yugoslavia," news advices from Istanbul, Cairo and London, and now even from the United States, call these men "Serbian Chetniks."

. The term "Chetnik" describes a purely Serbian organization, not a Yugoslavian one, which up to 1918 played a role designed to liberate their nation. With the passage of time and the existence of Yugoslavia, the Chetniks, under their skulls and crossbones, assisted the dictatorship of Belgrade by performing acts of terrorism against the democratic elements of the country and in the oppression of national minorities. Today the Chetniks are serving the Germans, and until Nedich was "forced to resign" because of his losses to the guerrilla armies, they served this Quisling; they are cooperating with Pavelich's Ustashi and are openly fighting the patriot Partisan Army of Yugoslavia.

What then, is the basis for the clash between these forces—what actually is behind this dangerous civil strife? We can only understand the present situation if we consider the deep, far-reaching differences dividing these two armed detachments which, on the surface, appear to have a common enemy in the fascist invaders of their country. Ninchich, Jovanovich and Gavrilovich, leaders of the Yugoslav Government in London, and Konstantin Fotich, Ambassador in Washington, belong to the "greater Serbia" chauvinistic movement. The present propaganda of attributing the glorious victories of the people's army to General Drazha Mikhailovich, their War Minister, merely furthers their aims: to establish a "greater Serbia" with hegemony over the Croatian and other non-Serbian elements in Yugoslavia. This is their main objective and chief concern and, together with them, Mikhailovich has no desire to fight the invaders. He wishes, instead, to preserve the Serbian resources and to keep the Yugoslav peoples from rallying to a militant progressive anti-fascist leadership. His aim is to build

a reactionary "Greater Serbia" regime to dominate the other national groups after the Axis breaks up due to the efforts of other combatants. The Croatians and the Slovenes fear this Serbian chauvinism just as much as they fear Axis domination.

Thus two opposing principles, one advocated by the Partisan Army, the other by Drazha Mikhailovich and his advisers in London, become more and more obvious. The slogan of all nations engaged in the struggle for liberty is constantly raised by the Partisan Army, as they continue to stress the importance of national unity and immediate offensive action against fascist aggression, proving their principle with concrete military victories. On the other hand, General Mikhailovich and his "Greater Serbia" friends fail to fight against Hitler.

Should anyone still question the charges against Mikhailovich, we refer the skeptic to the Bulgarian paper, *Zora*, which on September 10 printed an article on the relations between Mikhailovich and the Yugoslavian guerrillas; an article which might have clarified some of the confused journalists if they had cared to read it. Vaisl Seizor, the author, asked one of the Serbian Government leaders and collaborationists why Nedich's armed detachments attack and wage war only against the guerrillas and never against Drazha Mikhailovich and his men. The Serb answered:

"At the beginning of September of last year we negotiated and concluded an agreement with Mikhailovich on the joint struggle against the guerrillas. He received money from us. We collaborated on a common plan of action against the guerrillas.

"However, under the influence of his advisers, Mikhailovich later refused to collaborate with us and concluded an agreement with the guerrillas, compared with whom he was much weaker both in men and

arms. This collaboration between Mikhailovich and the guerrillas did not last long. Clashes started between them.

“From that time onwards Mikhailovich, who has his own organization, has actually been working for us. That is why we are leaving him alone.... The fact remains that Nedich’s armed detachments and Mikhailovich’s Yugoslavian army are fighting against the guerrillas.”

No statement could be clearer. It throws considerable light on the relative size of the General’s army and that of the Supreme Command. In a Moscow news despatch of October 22 the writer Vladimir Vlahovich stated moreover that during the battles of the summer between the Partisan Army and the Axis forces as many as 100,000 men took part on each side. It also indicates with finality just where the General stands in relation to the Quislings of Yugoslavia. The paper *Novo Vreme*, which was an organ of Nedich’s while he was still in power, printed daily discussions of the dreaded guerrilla fighters without once mentioning that this enemy was led by Drazha Mikhailovich. On the contrary, it pointed out that the war against the collaborationists was being carried out by guerrilla detachments of the Partisan Army. After all, Nedich knew a collaborator when he paid one.

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For the past month, the Yugoslavians in exile, attempting to defend Mikhailovich have placed themselves in an embarrassing position. With certain gentlemen now raising the cry of “Communist bandits” against the partisans, and with a skilled propaganda apparatus attempting to discredit the radio station “Free Yugoslavia,” these “private sources” are no longer able to borrow the announced successes of the Partisan Army and attribute them to Drazha

Mikhailovich. This, of course, does not mean that the Army has been less successful. From the northernmost point of Slovenia to the easternmost part of Macedonia, the Partisan Army continues to wage war alone on the fascist invaders and "Free Yugoslavia" continues to announce their successes. But it no longer makes good sense to say anything about Mikhailovich's fight against the invaders. The *New York Times* merely reports that "it was conceded that General Mikhailovich was having trouble with Communists."

We must examine again, if only, briefly, whether there is any basis for Mikhailovich's anti-Communist crusade. The Partisan Army has not put the question of communism on the order of the day either inside the Partisan Army or outside it. Only one program interests the democratic people's army: free Yugoslavia of its fascist troops of occupation. In order to do this it is essential to preserve the unity of the masses, regardless of national origins, faith, party or class. Each of these groups has to sacrifice its narrower aims and interests to the success of the national anti-fascist front of liberation for Yugoslavia.

It is easy to explain when Nedich's Axis-controlled paper *Novo Vreme* attacks the Partisan Army by calling them "Communist bandits." It is not so easy to explain why a United Nations paper like the *New York Times* calls the Partisan Army by the very name preferred by Hitler, Mussolini, Nedich and Pavelich, and in the same spirit of condemnation.

On October 11 this highly respectable paper published another highly confusing and at the same time revealing article by Pertinax. After stating that Mikhailovich is the leader of the Yugoslavian people, Pertinax pays some complaints to the Quisling Nedich. He admits the possibility that Nedich learned something from General Mikhailovich. This does not surprise the Partisans, who say that both these men have

graduated from the same school and are collaborating with each other against the liberation of Yugoslavia and with the invaders who hope to enslave this heroic Slav country. Now that the successes of the Partisan Army have made Nedich resign his post in disgrace, only Mikhailovich is left of this Quisling combination, determined single-handed to defeat his own countrymen and leave Hitler and the Italians strictly alone.

Such a peace as is desired by Mikhailovich would be more than acceptable to Hitler. Immediately many divisions would be released for the Eastern Front and Hitler's lines of vital communication for war and food supplies would no longer be interrupted. In the interest of such peace and quiet in Yugoslavia, he would happily sacrifice the unpopular Nedich and Pavelich and settle for the "popular" General. Pertinax helps along the campaign of chauvinism when he says:

"Among General Mikhailovich's enemies on the home front are also to be mentioned the bands of Partisans on which the local population recently turned in self-defence. These bands are a medley of so-called Communists mixed up with Bulgarian, Hungarian and Austrian freebooters. Are they an independent force at work for purposes of their own against the revival of the spirit of Old Serbia? Or are they linked to the country's foreign masters?"

How familiar these far-fetched accusations sound! These were the words written by the fascists and appeasers about the Loyalist Army in Spain, and about the heroic Partisans of China. We must ask ourselves and the *New York Times* whether an article which breathes the spirit of Old Serbian chauvinism and Hitlers anti-communist ruse aids the cause of the United Nations and helps defeat fascism in Yugoslavia.

Now, with the Yugoslavian Government in London saying that Mikhailovich is fighting the Partisan:

Army to save Yugoslavia from Communism, a wedge is being driven between the Yugoslavian people. Hitler is being aided and national unity against the invader is being threatened. This is positively in opposition to the declared policy of the United Nations. With such a policy these leaders in exile can only take their people down the very road which served the Axis so well in Spain, Czechoslovakia and France.

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Any intelligent investigation of the facts by a responsible member of the United Nations will only confirm the correctness of the general picture given here. The importance of the Mikhailovich question is the importance of Yugoslavia's freedom. Either the Partisan Army must receive immediate help and moral support, and the campaign of slander against the patriots must end, or national unity against Hitlerism in Yugoslavia will be crushed. It is to our own interests to condemn those who, under the slogan of fighting communism, are helping Hitler by murdering the very people who would save them.

Since this is a global war and since every front against the Axis is a United Nations front, and hence a United States front, it is to the immediate interests of our country to help put an end to this tragic injustice and these crimes perpetrated against the peoples of Yugoslavia both by propaganda and force of arms. In this titanic struggle for the total defeat of fascism in the world, there is no place for disrupters of national unity. Any who do not wage war on the Axis when the opportunity arises must be counted in the camp of the enemy.

GUERILLA WARFARE IN YUGOSLAVIA
BY B. PONOMAREV

The foremost place in the anti-Hitler front of the European nations is occupied by Yugoslavia.

After the defeat of Yugoslavia in the beginning of 1941, when Hitler's mailed hordes suddenly and wantonly attacked the country, this proud, freedom-loving Slav nation refused to bend the knee to their ancient enemy. In Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Slovenia, Herzegovina, Croatia, and Dalmatia, the best representatives of the people joined guerilla units to fight the invaders. The industrial workers abandoned their machines and tools and took to arms. Masses of peasants joined the guerilla forces. School teachers, students, medical men, journalists, engineers, clerks, men engaged in public affairs and representatives of the world commerce and industry joined the guerilla units to fight the aggressors.

The first steps of the guerilla movement were extremely difficult and arduous. Against them the small guerilla units had the colossal war machine of German fascism. The guerillas suffered from a shortage of arms, ammunition and equipment; their forces were not yet united. But they were imbued with the indomitable determination to fight and die rather than become the slaves of German fascism.

After Germany launched her unprovoked attack on the U.S.S.R. and met with the determined resistance of the Red Army, the Soviet guerillas and of the entire Soviet people, the struggle of the Yugoslav guerillas acquired greater force. The Serbian, Montenegrin, Slovene and other South Slav nationalities were inspired and encouraged by the mighty resistance put up against the enemy by their Slav brothers in the East, and regarded it as the token of their liberation from the German fiends.

They decided not to wait until liberation came as a result of the defeat of German fascism by the anti-Hitler coalition, but to accelerate this defeat by actively combating the "new order" in the rear of the detested fascists.

In October and November 1941, the guerillas launched an offensive in many parts of the country. They wiped out the punitive expeditions that were sent into the mountain districts to establish the "new order." They fought pitched battles with the German and Italian troops and then laid siege to towns and beat the enemy out of them. The struggle assumed particularly wide dimensions in Serbia, Bosnia, and Montenegro. In Serbia, the guerillas succeeded in driving the invaders out of a number of districts where the Serbs again became masters of the land. They even surrounded and besieged Belgrade, the capital.

The struggle raged not only in the districts where the guerillas operated in force, but also in the towns and villages occupied by the enemy, where the patriots fought the Germans and Italians as heroically as those who were fighting in the mountain districts.

One of the most outstanding successes achieved by the Yugoslav people in their fight against the invaders was the destruction of the munition industry of the country, which the fascist invaders had seized and wanted to employ for their war needs. No munitions for the enemy are being manufactured in Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia had its own plants for the manufacture of arms, ammunition, automobiles and aeroplanes. In the very first days of the invasion the patriots succeeded in destroying vast quantities of finished arms and ammunition which had been left in the areas occupied by the enemy. They blew up the biggest arsenals and put a large number of munition works out of commission. The guerillas tried to capture a

number of large industrial centres where munitions were manufactured, such as Kragujevac, for example, and fought for several months to gain possession of them.

• The patriots invented the most surprising methods of inflicting damage on the enemy. In the first period after the invasion they had no means counteracting the German *Luftwaffe* which bombed peaceful citizens and killed men, women and children, but they found a means. The guerillas began to kill off the fascist airmen. In Zagreb, in broad daylight, a motor-bus carrying airmen from their hotel in the city to an adjacent aerodrome was blown up with a bomb and about a dozen airmen were killed. In the same city, a girl telephone operator, a member of the Young Communist League, placed an infernal machine in the Telephone Exchange. The place was almost entirely wrecked, and the Germans and their placeman, Pavacic, were thus deprived of an important means of communication. The courageous Young Communist Leaguer managed to escape and joined the guerillas in the mountains.

At the end of 1941, the guerilla units linked up their forces and united, first within their respective provinces—Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia and Slovenia—and then in other parts of the country under a general leadership headed by the Supreme Staff of the guerilla and volunteer army. This greatly increased the efficiency of the guerilla units and helped the movement to achieve greater successes in their fight against the invaders.

Patriots who had been tried in battle against the Germans and Italians have been promoted to the leadership of guerilla units and to the staffs of the combined units. By their deeds these men have proved their devotion to their country and won the respect and backing of the men they led. Among the active

leaders of the guerilla movement there are quite a number of officers of the Yugoslavian army, volunteers who had fought the Germans and Italians in the ranks of the Republican Army in Spain, representatives of the Yugoslav intelligentsia, industrial workers, and veteran peasant rebels who had fought the Germans in 1914-18.

Month after month the guerilla units increased in number and strength, and by the end of 1941 they had grown into a formidable army of over 100,000 men. The German Command realized that Yugoslavia had not been conquered as they had imagined. They were obliged to bring up heavy reinforcements and start the war all over again. This war is continuing to this very day.

In October and November 1941 the Germans hurled against the guerillas several divisions. The treacherous politicians of Yugoslavia, who are working hand in glove with the fascist invaders, mustered their troops (the Ustasi) and gendarmes and despatched them to the rural districts of Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia to massacre the inhabitants who sympathized with the guerillas. Pitched battles were fought. Hard pressed by the well-armed and mailed German forces, the guerilla units were compelled to retreat. A number of towns which had been liberated again fell into the hands of the invaders. The latter, however, had to pay a heavy price for these successes. Thousands of German and Italian troops had to pay with their lives for the blood of the Yugoslavian people which they had shed, and for the towns and villages they had destroyed.

With the approach of winter, the invaders counted on obtaining a much needed respite. The Hitlerite troops had not been trained to withstand the hardships of mountain fighting in the winter. They were compelled to stop their offensive and go into winter

quarters, keeping mainly to the large inhabited centres. The guerillas, however, gave the invaders no rest. After harassing the enemy forces during their forced retreat, the guerillas eventually passed to the offensive and succeeded in driving the Germans out of a number of inhabited centres into the cold and frost.

The news of the defeat of the Germans near Moscow and the liberation of Kalinin, Kaluga, Mozhaisk and a number of other Soviet towns by the Red Army was received by the heroic sons of Yugoslavia with tremendous enthusiasm. It still further stimulated their courage in fighting the enemy. At the end of January and in February 1942, the guerillas routed a large punitive expedition consisting of Germans, Ustasi, and Nedic's gendarmes. This force, numbering over 5,000 men, had been despatched to "pacify" Bosnia, but they were defeated and compelled to retreat after suffering heavy losses. In some of the battles they lost as many as a hundred or two hundred killed. Many of them were taken prisoner, and they lost large quantities of arms and ammunition.

At the beginning of 1942, the Motenegrins achieved important successes. They drove the Italians out of most of the districts they had occupied in the first period of the invasion, and in spite of enemy aeroplanes, tanks, automobiles and machine-guns, they gained control of large areas of their native land.

In the spring of 1942, the German and Italian invaders launched another offensive against the guerillas. They mustered a large force and concentrated large quantities of artillery, machine-guns, automatic rifles and other firearms, aeroplanes and tanks. With this vast superiority of technical forces, the enemy hoped to smash the guerilla movement and to terrorize the liberated districts. General Bader, Hitler's satrap in Yugoslavia, gave the order for the

opening of a general offensive. The invaders and their henchmen tried to encircle the districts occupied by the guerillas and exterminate their man power. Large forces were engaged in the fighting on both sides. Guerilla battalions and brigades stood up against Italian and German divisions. In spite of the overwhelming superiority in armaments and technique the guerillas staunchly held on to their positions and inflicted telling blows on the enemy. In Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, fighting lasted for several weeks. The fight for the town of Foca lasted about a month. The town changed hands several times. Hard pressed by superior forces, the guerillas retreated to the mountains and remote districts where they found support among the inhabitants and formed a base in which to recuperate and reinforce their ranks. They resumed their military operations, wearing down the enemy forces and inflicting heavy defeats upon them.

It must not be supposed, however, that the guerillas retreated everywhere in Yugoslavia during these months. In Slovenia, for example, they took the offensive and achieved important successes. The offensive operations in Slovenia and certain other districts prevented the invaders from concentrating their forces in one spot for a decisive blow at the national-liberation movement.

Slovenia was entirely enveloped in the flames of a popular armed struggle. This struggle raged in the province of Ljubljana and the city of Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia, in the district of Trieste, in the towns of Kocevje, Gorica and Divac, in the districts adjacent to Austria, and others. The Italian forces quartered here were attacked in front by the guerilla units and in the rear by the people who had risen in armed revolt. The armed struggle which the Slovenian people waged against the Germans and Italians

lasted throughout the summer and autumn of 1942, during which they succeeded in liberating a large part of their country.

Political leadership of the national-liberation movement in Slovenia—in the liberated districts as well as in the towns and villages still occupied by the enemy—is exercised by what is known as the “Liberation Front,” an organization which unites all Slovenian patriots who are fighting to liberate their country from the German and Italian yoke.

In this period the guerillas achieved important successes in Bosanska Krajina, Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia and along the entire Adriatic coast. After defeating large forces of Germans, Italians, and Ustasi, they occupied the towns of Konjica, Kresevo, Lubuski, Prijedor, Prozor, Gornji Vakuf, Glamoc, Bosanski Petrovac, Bosanska Krupa, Dobrlin, Brod, Sanski Most, and others.

This part of the Adriatic Coast is of great strategical importance, and the Italians are doing their utmost to retain it. They cling literally to every inch of soil, but for all that the guerillas succeeded in driving them out of many towns and villages which they had occupied for a whole year.

Many of the battles fought during the summer and autumn of 1942 were of large dimensions.

The Germans and Italians threw entire regiments and divisions against the towns occupied by the guerillas. But the guerillas too employed large units—battalions numbering several hundred men, and brigades numbering several thousands. In some engagements, as for example round the town of Kljuc, the guerillas surrounded and wiped out entire German regiments.

In October 1942 the guerillas wiped out the Eugene of Savoy Division of the Italian army and captured its Staff. General Mazza saved himself by flight.

The successes achieved by the Yugoslav guerillas brought them to the very borders of the German Reich. The flames of the guerilla movement spread from Slovenia to the Austrian provinces of South Carinthia and Styria.

As a result of the summer and autumn offensive waged by the guerillas, the situation in Yugoslavia became extremely alarming for the invaders, so much so that Mussolini arrived in Gorica on the Yugoslav frontier and held a conference with General Cavallero, Chief of the General Staff of the Italian forces, and the commanders of the Italian forces in Slovenia and Dalmatia. Three German generals were sent to Croatia. The invaders hurled fresh forces against the guerillas—several divisions supplied with tanks, aeroplanes and artillery. By September 1, 1942, 17 Italian, 4 German, 4 Hungarian and 7 Bulgarian divisions were mustered.

In spite of these reinforcements, however, the invaders could make no headway.

During the fighting in the course of the summer and autumn the Yugoslav guerillas captured large quantities of enemy war material.

By the end of 1942, the Yugoslav guerillas had liberated from the alien invaders an area of 48,000 square kilometers, mainly in Bosnia and Bosanska Krajina. The guerillas also conducted important offensive operations in other parts of the country, such as Croatia, Dalmatia and Slovenia, during which thousands of German and Italian troops perished.

The tactics employed by the Yugoslav guerillas towards the Bulgarian troops are different from those employed against the Germans and Italians. The guerillas appeal to the Bulgarians not to fight against their Slav brothers but to turn their weapons against the common enemy, German fascism. Quite a large

number of Bulgarian soldiers have joined the ranks of the guerillas, and several units of Bulgarian guerillas are operating against the German and Italian invaders in the region of the Bulgaria-Yugoslavian frontier.

The guerilla movement in Yugoslavia assumed such wide dimensions, the role it played in the struggle for national liberation became so important, and the number of districts of the country liberated from the invaders increased to such an extent that the need was felt for a popularly elected body to unite and direct the popular struggle. Such a body was formed and is known as the People's Vetsche.

The successes of the guerilla movement in Yugoslavia and the influence it exercised on other occupied countries created considerable alarm among the Germans and Italians. This alarm increased still further after the landing of the American and British forces in North Africa and the defeat of Rommel's army. The Yugoslav guerillas are rendering the Anglo-American troops operating in Africa considerable assistance by keeping large German and Italian forces engaged in Yugoslavia, by putting out of action thousands of German and Italian soldiers who were to have been used in Africa, and by constantly harassing the lines of communication along which German and Italian troops are despatched to the Adriatic coast and thence to Tripoli and Tunis. The Yugoslav guerillas will be even a greater menace to the Italian and German bloc when the second front in Europe is opened.

Bearing these circumstances in mind, the invaders determined to crush the movement for national liberation waged by the peoples of Yugoslavia and to wipe out the guerilla armies. At the end of January 1943 Germans and Italians launched their fourth campaign against the guerillas. For this purpose they accumulat-

ed large forces and an enormous quantity of war material including aircraft, tanks and artillery. By the beginning of March 1943 no less than 7 German divisions, 6 Italian Divisions and also the troops of Pavelic and other traitors had been mustered against the territory liberated by the guerillas alone. Military operations developed in the regions of the towns of Bihac, Petrovac, Prozor, Bugojno, Gornji Vakuf and Konjica, on the Sarajevo-Mostar line, and in the basin of the River Neretva. In some directions, where the enemy had concentrated large forces, the guerillas were compelled to retreat, but they retreated in fighting order and inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy. In the sector Glamoc-Mliniste alone the enemy lost several thousand in killed and wounded. In the village of Majka Capre the guerillas surrounded and smashed up an enemy column of 1,500 men.

The guerillas did not confine themselves to defensive fighting but launched offensive operations against the invaders as a result of which they inflicted a heavy defeat upon them and captured the town of Prozor by storm.

Thus an important enemy base for an offensive against the territory liberated by the guerillas was destroyed. In killed alone the Italians lost 1,150 officers and men. The guerillas captured a large quantity of war material, including 5 tanks, 6 guns, about 100 machine-guns, 500 rifles, 400,000 cartridges and 1,000 shells.

After their victory in Prozor the guerillas launched an offensive further along the Mostar-Sarajevo railway by which the Germans and Italians despatched troops and war material to the Adriatic coast and then on to North Africa. The guerillas destroyed the railway track for a length of 80 to 100 kilometers, cut communications between the enemy forces and smashed up many enemy units. In the Mostar-Prozor—

Konjica sector, the Italian "Murge" Division was almost completely wiped out. In killed alone the division lost 2,000 men and 45 officers; 1,200 men and 25 officers were taken prisoner. In addition, 350 Germans and Pavelic's Ustasi were also killed. Hastily retreating from this district, the Germans and Italians abandoned 17 tanks in good condition, 16 guns, 230 machine-guns, 2,000,000 cartridges and other war material. The guerillas achieved their biggest victory in the Gornji Vakuf—Bugojno sector. Here they resisted the assaults of two German divisions and several brigades of Ustasi for eight days and then, passing to the offensive, utterly defeated the enemy. The German 718th and 36th Divisions were smashed up. In one battle alone they lost 850 men killed and several thousand wounded and prisoners. On the Lich sector, the guerillas wiped out 1,600 Germans, men and officers. The guerillas are inflicting heavy blows on the invading troops in Dalmatia, on the Adriatic coast, and other parts of the country. Not long ago several large guerilla units combined and launched an offensive in the course of which they captured the town of Imotski. Using this town as a base, they are now clearing the territory in the triangle: Imotsko—Ljubuski and the Adriatic coast.

In Slovenia, guerilla detachments are continuously attacking the Italian forces, thus wearing down and destroying the enemy's man power.

Simultaneously with the launching of a big offensive against the guerillas with the aid of large forces, the invaders are doing all they can to disintegrate the ranks of the national-liberation movement by more insidious means. By order of their Berlin masters, the German and Italian agents in Yugoslavia are waging a sordid campaign of lies and slander against the guerillas and spreading the wildest rumours about the alleged aims of the guerilla movement. One of the

main cards they are playing in this despicable game is the bogey of the Bolshevik menace which Goebbels recently raised.

These enemies of the people in Yugoslavia are now openly acting on the side of their masters and have placed all the military forces at their disposal for the purpose of waging an armed struggle against the guerillas.

For the purpose of exposing the treacherous game that is being played by the politicians, the leaders of the guerilla army, in conjunction with the popularly elected Vetsche, issued a statement to the people outlining the aims of their struggle.

The fundamental aim of all patriots and of all true sons of Yugoslavia, they state, is to liberate the country from the invaders and to regain its independence. Everything must be subordinated to the achievement of this object. After the enemy has been expelled from the country, all the important problems of social life and public administration will be dealt with by the freely elected representatives of the entire people.

During the whole period of the war, the manifesto goes on to say, the guerilla units in the liberated territory, as well as in all other parts of the country, have firmly adhered to the principle of the inviolability of private property and private enterprise in industry and commerce, and have made no radical changes in social life or public administration. Everywhere they have supported those representatives of the people who have resolutely opposed the Germans and Italians. The guerillas have firmly adhered to the principle of freedom of conscience both as regards the civilian population and the army. The manifesto also emphasizes that a necessary condition for the success of Yugoslavia's struggle for liberation is the recogni-

tion of the national rights of Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia, the peoples of which are in the course of the stern struggle against the German and Italian yoke laying the best foundations for truly fraternal and friendly relations.

This manifesto issued by the representatives of the guerillas and of the Vetché, in conjunction with a number of other measures taken to explain the position of Yugoslavian patriots, will undoubtedly serve to rally still further all the forces of the Yugoslav peoples for the purpose of fighting for the liberation of their country.

The guerillas are manfully standing up against heavy odds and are encountering enormous difficulties in their struggle to liberate their country. The greatest difficulty they have to meet, is the shortage of arms. Up to now, the guerilla army has been equipped exclusively with arms and munitions captured from the enemy. Every shell and cartridge is precious. The supply of arms and ammunition is a matter of constant concern for the leaders of the guerilla movement as a whole and of the leader of every guerilla unit in particular.

Another difficulty is the food supply. The fascist invaders have looted the country and are shipping all the grain they can to Germany. Where the Germans and Italians are forced to retreat they set fire to and destroy the villages and towns and leave the inhabitants without food. Sometimes the guerillas have to share their last supplies with the dispossessed population. Under present conditions it is extremely difficult and sometimes utterly impossible to ship food from other districts. That is why bread, like arms, must be obtained from the enemy by force of arms.

The inhabitants of the occupied areas found a good way of hindering the Germans in exporting the grain from the country. When the crop ripened the peasants destroyed all the threshing machines, and

the enemy had no threshed grain to export. For their own uses, the peasants used flails.

In addition to the difficulties arising from the shortage of arms, ammunition and food, the Yugoslavian patriots are faced with serious political difficulties. They are obliged to fight the puppet governments which the German fascists have set up, such as that of Nedic in Serbia, Pavelic in Croatia, and also other Yugoslavian traitors who claim to be opponents of Hitlerism.

In the first period of the invasion the latter did, indeed, oppose the invaders and thereby succeeded in winning over to their side some part of the Yugoslavian army. But they were scared by the dimensions which the popular guerrilla movement was assuming and began to oppose it, at first secretly and then quite openly. They broke away from the general guerilla movement and formed their own detachments. The Germans and Italians, eager to utilize every means of disintegrating the national-liberation movement from within, established connections with the leaders of these detachments, supplied them with arms and incited them against the guerillas.

These anti-democratic groups and detachments operate jointly with the German and Italian troops and often succeed in treacherously stabbing the popular guerilla movement in the back.

On many occasions participants in the guerilla war, including many high officers of the Yugoslav army, public men and clergymen, have in their appeals to the people denounced these groups as agents of the invaders. They are now being denounced by the popularly elected Vetsche.

What does the above description of the national-liberation movement in Yugoslavia show?

First, that the movement covers the whole country. The fight against the invaders is being waged

on the front—in the regions largely controlled by the guerillas—as well as in the invaders' rear in occupied territory, including Belgrade, the capital, Zagreb, Nis and other large centres. The invaders tried to incite the different nationalities against each other, but they failed. For example, the invaders intended to use Croatia as a base of operations against Serbia, Montenegro and other parts of Yugoslavia, but the guerilla movement is developing in those places too, in spite of Pavelic's strenuous efforts to suppress it.

Secondly, the movement is assuming wider dimensions. The number of patriots who have taken up arms against the invaders is steadily growing.

Thirdly, the guerillas are on the offensive in many parts of the country. During 1942 and the first months of 1943 they conducted a number of large-scale offensive operations and liberated a considerable part of the country from the invaders. They do not confine themselves to defensive tactics and this is a condition and pledge of the success of the national-liberation movement.

Fourthly, the guerillas are well led and well organized. The national-liberation struggle is now headed by the Vetsche, which has been elected by the people of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavian guerilla movement has deep roots among the broad masses of the people and enjoys nation-wide support.

* * * * *

The national-liberation movement against German fascism embraces the whole of Europe, from Norway to Greece. As a rule, every movement for national liberation is accompanied by guerilla warfare, for under such circumstances the war against the oppressor is carried out not only by regular armies, but also by the general masses of the people.

In the early period of the German occupation the question as to whether it was possible to conduct

guerilla warfare against a modern army equipped with tanks, aeroplanes, artillery and mechanized transport facilities was a matter of debate. The heroic deeds performed by the Yugoslav patriots, however, have settled this point. The struggle they have waged against the fascist invaders of their country for the past two years has shown that guerilla warfare waged by the masses of the people for their liberation from an alien yoke has every chance of success, and that under the conditions prevailing in Western Europe at present it is the most effective way of resisting the invaders.

True, Yugoslavia presents a particularly favourable field for guerilla warfare. The mountainous nature of the country greatly facilitates guerilla operations. After the defeat of the Yugoslav army large numbers of soldiers retreated into the mountains, taking their arms with them. The people are imbued with the old fighting traditions. But the main factor that facilitated the success of the guerilla movement in Yugoslavia, and this is the primary factor, was the readiness of the broad masses of the people and their progressive representatives to fight to the last gasp for the liberation of their country, in spite of the numerical and technical superiority of the enemy; their readiness to give up for a time their regular habits of life, to suffer loss of property, to shed their blood and sacrifice their very lives in the fight against the hated fascists, native and foreign.

The heroic and successful armed struggle waged against the German and Italian robbers by the patriots of Yugoslavia has greatly influenced the struggle throughout the Balkans. The fact that the Serbs, Montenegrins, Croatians and Slovenes are making it hot for the fascist invaders is well known in Greece, Albania and Macedonia, and inspires the people in those countries to emulate the Yugoslavs.

WE, THE undersigned Americans of Yugoslav birth, consider the ensuing documents dealing with the Partisan-Mikhailovich issue in Yugoslavia of great potential historical importance, and have decided to sponsor their collected publication in the United States for the reason that the general American press has chosen to virtually ignore them.

January 15, 1943

(Signed)

Louis Adamic
Zarko Buncich
Yovan Kraynovich
Mirko Markovich
Tony Maynarich
Frano Petrinovich
Yanko Rogelj
Vaso Trivanovich
Mark Vinski
Vinko Vuk

1. Letter of the Supreme Staff of the
People's National Liberation Partisan Army
of Yugoslavia to Drazha Mikhailovich

October 21, 1941

TO THE Commander of the military Chetnik units,
Colonel Drazha Mikhailovich:

We are informed by your representative, Captain Mitich, that unfortunately it is impossible for you to come to the conclusive negotiations but that instead you are sending your plenipotentiaries for the solution of all problems that must be solved between us and you. In our opinion these negotiations will not result in what we and you expected. Nevertheless we are sending our representatives in order to solve at least certain of the most important questions, and especially those which sharpen our relations. You are asking that we send you our proposals, that is, that we formulate our stand on particular questions. We are sending you these proposals in the general outline, but we stress again that every question demands a thorough discussion and a common exchange of thoughts in reaching decisions upon it. Our proposals are as follows:

1. Common military operations against the enemy, both against the German and the Nedich group. With this in view we consider it necessary to form a common operations staff.
2. A common supply and feeding of our and your fighters, which would be done through a common operations staff, which would delegate special persons or would create special bodies to carry out the task.
3. A common division of captured trophies according to the necessities of the front, basing our-

selves on the principle: *Everything for the front, everything for the fight.*

4. Joint command of localities, that is, two commands, yours and ours, which would closely cooperate with each other—Chachak is an example.

5. The creation of joint permanent commissions attached to the joint operations staff, which would solve with greatest possible speed all of the divergencies which might arise.

6. The organization of the provisory authorities which would take upon themselves the task of feeding the population, the organization of the economy, the supply of means of warfare, the organization of the organs of public safety and order, etc. In our opinion it would absolutely be a mistake if in the present liberation struggle this authority should be the county commissioners, the old communal Executives, the gendarmes, etc.

In order to rally all of the population to carry on this difficult struggle against the occupationists, it is necessary to create such public organs which would best answer the demands of the situation, which will be nearest to the people and which would take upon themselves all of the responsibility in the name of the people. The former gendarme, police and county apparatus as well as community organs cannot and do not answer the needs, because this apparatus is infested with elements of the enemy, because this apparatus up to now has been in the service of the occupationists, and the enemy still has influence on this apparatus through its agents.

Aside from this, this apparatus does not enjoy the confidence of the people and is not suitable for the present critical days. We consider that the national liberation committees, which the people themselves

are establishing, are at the present time the most suitable organs on which we can rely.

These national liberation committees should be elected voluntarily by the people regardless of political beliefs. And where it is impossible to hold such elections because of technical reasons, let these committees be nominated by the representatives of all political groups which are for the struggle for liberation of the country. We also consider it necessary to create a Central National Liberation Committee for the whole liberated territory, and in order to maintain public order and public safety, we propose the creation in the towns and villages of a people's guard.

7. On the question of compulsory mobilization, we are in principle against it. The mobilization should be voluntary, through conviction and everybody should be free to join the Chetnik or the partisan units. Compulsory mobilization could be used only on a local scale and in particular concrete instances of great danger of enemy advance, and to do this we consider that the permission of a common operations staff should be necessary. The recruiting of volunteers by the methods of voluntary mobilization has the advantage that the units composed from such fighters are qualitatively much better than those composed of persons forcibly mobilized. We do not have arms nor military equipment in such quantity that we could risk placing them into the hands of unreliable elements.

8. We take the position that all of the units, commands and staffs, both of our partisans and of yours, the Chetniks, should unconditionally obey their supreme commands. It is out of the question that the lower commands should be permitted to act on their own initiative, actions which might be directed against one or the other common forces or affect strategic or tactical military questions. The moment one

or the other Supreme Command is informed of one of these arbitrary acts all the responsibility should fall on it and it has the duty to take the most urgent measures to liquidate such cases.

9. We consider it unquestionably necessary, in order to prevent clashes in the headquarters of your and our Supreme Command that your Command and our Command should be in different cities, each retaining its own local command, but each having representatives on the other staff.

10. In the interests of a successful fight against the main enemy, the German occupationists, we consider it necessary to conduct a merciless fight against all kinds of fifth columnists and spies in our hinterland who are handicapping the national liberation struggle. We agree that a common military court should be opened which would conduct investigations and pass judgment against such enemies of the people. Those spies and fifth columnists who are caught in the act should be punished immediately by the command in whose jurisdiction the crime occurred. The command or the commander carrying out such a judgment is responsible for all such acts. Personal revenge or personal hate in such cases should be punished in the severest way.

11. Against the different enemy Chetnik groups, who are making more difficult the national liberation struggle behind our lines, a common action should be undertaken for their liquidation or it should be done by one or the other party on its own.

12. We consider it intolerable that various fifth columnists and spies should receive either Chetnik or partisan papers, while continuing under the name of one or the other side their destructive work inimical to the people. Such elements should be cleaned out of the ranks and surrendered to the military court.

The elements under suspicion, whether they carry Chetnik or partisan papers, should be immediately arrested and questioned by a mixed commission.

These are our proposals and demands, and in the main those which call for a final solution. There are many other questions, which we have not covered here, because we consider that the delegates themselves should solve them.

Mr. Colonel, we consider the present situation too serious and the responsibility which falls on all of us before the people too great to wrangle over small things and thus make impossible our cooperation and proper relations. We are convinced that you will use your authority to the full to reach an agreement and that we shall join our forces into one common unity for the achievement of our greatest aim, which is placed before us, and that is: *free our fatherland from the hated occupationists and their servants.*

With great respect,

*For the Supreme Command of the People's
National Liberation Partisan Units*

Tito.

(The representatives of Drazha Mikhailovich rejected points one, two, six and seven. Even after these points were rejected the Partisans signed an agreement with Mikhailovich, but the next day Mikhailovich opened attack on them.)

2. Tito's Letter to the Slovenians

TO THE Executive Committee of the Liberation Front of the Slovenian People:

Dear comrades:

In connection with the present events in Serbia, where sharp struggle has arisen between the partisan units and the Chetnik bands of Drazha Mikhailovich, we consider it necessary to send you, as the political representatives of the Slovenian people, the following information:

1. The representatives of our staff had a number of conferences with Colonel Drazha Mikhailovich. All the conferences were concluded with a signed and written agreement.

Drazha Mikhailovich, up to October, 1941, rejected every military action, maintaining that all of these actions were too early. Despite this, our staff formed an agreement with his staff according to which both sides agreed to help each other loyally, even though the Chetnik units do not take part in the military operations.

The partisans had up to that time freed from the occupation troops the territory from Sarayovo to Chachak and almost up to the outskirts of Belgrade.

On the basis of the agreement reached with Drazha Mikhailovich, our partisan units and staffs permitted the Chetnik organizations to develop their activities on the freed territory, to mobilize and arm their fellow Chetniks, and even to establish their local Chetnik staffs with equal right with our staffs.

At the beginning, the Chetniks took part in the military operations against the occupationists, responding to the call of our staff.

2. In connection with the intensified action of the occupation troops against the armed units of the Serbian people, in connection with the "punitive expeditions," which did horrible havoc in Northern Serbia, our staff proposed to the staff of Drazha Mikhailovich to form a united operation staff, to mobilize the civil authorities in the liberated territory and to undertake all of the necessary measures for a normal life.

Our proposal was that the civil authority should be established in a democratic way by means of free elections. Organs of this authority [National Liberation Committees) should be formed of honest men of all political groups and trends.

Drazha Mikhailovich rejected both of these proposals. He replied that a common operations staff is not necessary. And on the question of the civil authority, he replied that the old anti-popular institutions should be maintained. These are the same institutions established by the anti-people's regimes in Belgrade, the communal executive committees, the police apparatus, all of which served the occupationists up to the last minute, because they are poisoned by elements of the Fifth Column.

Despite the fact that Mikhailovich rejected the two basic proposals of our staff, a compromise agreement was reached at the conference.

According to this agreement the relations between the partisans and the Chetniks were again set in order. As a proof of our good intentions and good will, our staff, the very day after signing the agreement with Drazha Mikhailovich, sent to his staff 500 guns and 40,000 cartridges from the war factory of guns and munitions which the partisans captured from the occupationists. This was sent to him as a gift on our part.

3. Yet, only a few days after the signing of the agreement, certain Chetnik officers and staffs began armed attacks against the partisan units.

In Pozhega they captured in a railroad train the Commander of the First Unit, Milan Blagoyevich, who had with him all the necessary identification documents.

The Chetnik officers in Pozhega, under the command of Drazha Mikhailovich (Pozhega was freed by the partisans, and after the agreement was reached we gave it to the staff of Drazha Mikhailovich as the center of his organization), in the most bestial way tortured and killed our commander Milan Blagoyevich [a veteran of the International Brigade in Spain—*Translator*].

Our staff, in connection with this horrible crime, sent a protest, but refrained from making this crime a reason for a fratricidal warfare.

The day after this bestial deed, a Chetnik band stopped one of our automobiles loaded with ammunition, en route to the front near Valyevo. The Chetniks on that occasion killed our chauffeur, the partisan guards and destroyed the car.

At the same time in the Kragujevac area, the Chetniks of Drazha Mikhailovich disarmed the partisan guard in Kosyerac, arrested the whole partisan staff, horribly tortured (by roasting on a fire) the partisan leaders, raped two teachers who worked in the local partisan command and finally killed nine persons, among them a Slovenian deported by the occupationists from Slovenia.

Finally, on the night of November 1, 1941, the Chetniks made all preparations for an attack against Uzice, against Ivanyicko, and certain other places which had been freed and were under the command of the partisans.

For the attack against these partisan towns they gathered all of the Chetnik units, even those which were working together with the partisans on the front against the Germans near Kralyevo and Valyevo.

With these units they started the main attack against the partisans. The Chetniks of Drazha Mikhailovich, as they call themselves, and whom the London government of Yugoslavia calls "the regular army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia," began at that time their open fratricidal warfare.

Thus they opened the door to the occupationists for a big offensive against us.

4. This was clearly an attack by traitors. Our partisan units answered it as such. Although not prepared for such a sudden attack, our partisan units in the course of two days smashed the bands of Drazha Mikhailovich and captured several hundred Chetniks.

The prisoners were in the majority misled peasants. They surrendered, and we immediately let them go home. Thus, we began to clean the territory.

The Germans immediately made use of the treachery of Drazha Mikhailovich and began a five-pronged offensive against the liberated territory. Nevertheless, all five German blows were smashed by the fearless fight of the partisan units.

The liberated territory today is completely cleaned of Chetnik bands. What remains of them is completely surrounded in the territory of two villages.

5. During the Chetnik attacks against the partisans our staff made several appeals to Drazha Mikhailovich to cease the fratricidal war, which is only helping the occupationists. All of our appeals were rejected. Today it is completely clear why Mikhailovich had attacked us and why he rejected our appeals.

When the partisans smashed and occupied the staff headquarters of Drazha Mikhailovich, documents were found which showed:

(a) That Drazha Mikhailovich is serving two masters. On one hand he was giving the Yugoslav Government in exile false information. In that way, he succeeded in having the London Government recognize him as the supreme commander of the liberation units in Serbia.

(b) At the same time, he was connected with Nedich and the Germans, and received sums of money from them for the fight against the "Communists," in reality to fight the liberation movement in Serbia. Nedich himself confirmed this fact over the Belgrade radio.

6. Our staff will in the few days, before it issues the order for the destruction of the completely surrounded Mikhailovich, once more make an attempt to come to an agreement with him for cooperation. The Supreme Command of the Partisan and Volunteer Army is making this attempt not because of Drazha Mikhailovich personally, but because of the Serbian people, upon whom the treachery of Mikhailovich has made a very bad impression. The outlook for the success of our appeal is very small. Mikhailovich is demanding nothing less than the dissolution of the Partisan Army and that all of the partisan units submit themselves to his staff. It is clear that our Supreme Command must not, and will not accept any such proposal.

We are informing you about this event in Serbia, which without doubt is the result of the work of reactionary "Greater Serbia" elements. We ask you to devote all of your strength to strengthen the unity of the liberation struggle in Slovenia, and thus to scotch the possibility of similar events in Slovenia.

We want to add finally that all of Serbia west of Kraljevo, Krushevac, Kragujevac in the direction of Bosnia has been freed. The larger part of Sandjak, Montenegro, the larger part of Bosnia, and Sarajevo is almost completely surrounded.

We greet you with partisan greetings.

*The Supreme Command of the
Partisan Army of Yugoslavia.*

TITO.

3. Mikhailovich an Ally of Axis Invaders

Declaration of the General Headquarters of the Slovenian Partisan Units issued at the front May 15, 1942, published in Osvobodilne Fronte, official organ of the National Front movement in Slovenia, and made public in the U.S. Nov. 17, 1942.

IN REGARD to the outrageous fabrications which the agents of the White Guards are spreading to the effect that the Slovenian or any other partisans have joined the army of Drazha Mikhailovich, and that the successes of the recent battles in Slovenia should be attributed to Drazha's officers, we state the following:

1. According to the information which the General Headquarters of the Slovenian Partisans has received from the Supreme Command of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, in no region of Yugoslavia have any agreements been reached with Mikhailovich, and for the following reasons:

(a) Because there does not exist any more a Drazha Mikhailovich "army." The remainder of his following in Serbia has joined the Nedich army, against which the partisans are carrying on the sharpest of fights.

From Bosnia, one section of the remains of the robber bands of Jezdimir Dangich has crossed the Drina River and joined with Nedich's army. Another section is fighting together with the Italians against the partisans on the line Gorazde-Plevlja.

In Montenegro the same groups, after attacking the partisans near Niksic, were shattered and destroyed. In other parts of Yugoslavia there never was a Mikhailovich army.

(b) From the above it follows that Drazha Mikhailovich is an open and direct ally of the occupationists and therefore every agreement with him would be a betrayal of the national interests of Yugoslavia.

2. In Slovenia there is not, and there never were any units of Drazha's or Drazha's officers fighting the occupationists. All of the fighting in the recent days has been done by the greatly enlarged partisan detachments under the leadership of their commanders, tried and rested in last winter's difficult actions.

3. We repeat, that the partisan authorities, on the basis of the decisions of the Narodne Osvobodilne Fronte (National Liberation Front) will shoot everyone who is proved to have attempted to form no matter what kind of armed units, aside from partisan units which are under the command of the general headquarters of the Slovenian Partisan Units.

Issued at the front, May 15, 1942.

*For the General Headquarters
of the Slovenian Partisan Units.*

PETER STRUGAR, Commander
JERNEJ POSAVEC, Commissar

4. June Conference of Yugoslav Patriots

On July 21, 1942, radio station Free Yugoslavia announced that on June 16 patriots of Montenegro, Boka and Sandjak had held a conference of outstanding political and cultural public men of these districts. Members of different political parties, united in love for their fatherland, in hatred for the bloodthirsty fascists, steadfastly resolved to free their fatherland forever from bloody fascist tyranny.

Among the participants were political leaders known to the people of all Yugoslavia. The conference unanimously adopted a resolution which was signed by seventy-five people's representatives. For obvious reasons, all the names cannot be made public, those given being of individuals who gave their consent. The resolution adopted by the conference reads:

THE liberation struggle in Montenegro, Boka and Sandjak against the fascist imperialist robbers is a component part of the struggle carried on by the peoples of Yugoslavia, enslaved peoples of the European states as well as by our allies—the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the U.S.A. This struggle of our people conducted with the aid of their armed people's liberation, partisan and volunteer army, has one objective—to drive the occupationists from our country, to destroy fascism and set our people free.

In this struggle our people succeeded in freeing large sections of their territory. But precisely at the moment when the occupationists encountered the greatest difficulties, they found allies among the traitors of our people headed by Bayo Stanishich, colonel, Grigorij Lachitch, major, and Pavle Djurichich, captain in the Yugoslav army. There are documents and evidence which prove that these men, on the order and with the aid of Drazha Mikhailovich,

carry on armed struggle against our people, receiving aid for this purpose from the occupationists. They are united in Montenegro with the well-known separatist Krsto Popovich, who for twenty years has been working on behalf of Italy.

Thus fratricidal war has been provoked and conducted on our territory under the leadership of Drazha Mikhailovich, about whose treachery there is official evidence on the basis of documents found on his adjutant, Major Todorovich, and others. Utilizing the difficult economic situation of our people, these scoundrels use unheard-of terror, executions, establish concentration camps, perpetrate fires, robbery, etc. By such methods they forced part of the population to fight together with the occupationists against their own liberty.

Apart from the fact that these traitors called forth fratricidal war, they also made possible the release of part of the occupationist army for the eastern front. Thus they openly align themselves with the fascist powers against our Allies—the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the U.S.A.

The situation called forth by the criminal action of these traitors worries us exceedingly as patriots of Montenegro, Boka and Sandjak because this treachery is accomplished under the leadership of members of the Government and assumes the character of a grave crime in the history of our people. The seriousness of such a situation demands the speediest liquidation of this criminal action.

We, patriots of Montenegro, Boka and Sandjak, are of the opinion that the Yugoslav Government in London does not know about the treacherous work of Drazha Mikhailovich. If it had knowledge of it, undoubtedly the Government would have renounced him because this is demanded by the innumerable victims

and the sufferings of our people and above all by our struggle and the struggle of our allies against the fascist enslavers.

At the same time we state that, as heretofore, we will carry on the decisive struggle of liberation against the occupationists, their hirelings and all those who aid them till the final annihilation and driving out of the occupationists from our country.

We call upon the people of Montenegro, Boka and Sandjak steadfastly to continue the sacred people's struggle for liberation to the end.

Death to Fascism! Liberty to the People!

[Signatures] Marko Vuyachich, member of the Executive Committee of the Peasant Party; Jefto Pavich, member of the Central Committee of the Peasant Party; Jefstasiye Karamatijevich, priest, member of Independent Democratic Party from Nova Varosh; Marko Savichevich, member of the Central Committee of the People's Peasant Party; Dragolyuba Yovanovicha; Dushan Yovovich, teacher of Plevalja, member of the Executive Committee of the Peasant Party; Milo Perunchich, Parliamentary Deputy, member of the Democratic Party; Milan Dobrashinovich, professor from Berane, member of the Democratic Party;

Doctor Zarko Milich, physician at the State hospital in Saryevo; Mirko Veshovich, lawyer from Podgorica; Stoyan Cerovich, journalist, editor of *Slobodna Misao* from Niksich, member of the Farmers Union; Vuko Djokich, merchant from Kolashin, burgomaster, member of the Democratic Party; Jagosh Zimonjich, priest from Kolashin; Savo Orović, Colonel in the Yugoslav Army; Risto Perovich, retired colonel; Doctor Simo Miloshevich, professor at Belgrade University;

Vlado Markovich, judge of the Ecclesiastical Court in Citiyne; Milo Yankovich, burgomaster in

Dorbnyaci, member of the Farmers Union; Andreya Prilya, head of the Finance Department, member of the Democratic Party; Tomo Raichevich, peasant from Okrinice, member of the Farmers Union; Blagota Ramovich, Lieutenant Colonel from Zagarach; Djordje Hopichich, professor and man of letters from Cetinye; Vido Purich, former mayor;

Yovan Zhugich, priest from Niksich; Marcheta Gogovich, priest from Kilza; Risto Pavlovich, teacher from Priyepolye, member of the Democratic Party; Doctor Radoye Meyuskovich, physician from Artzt; Radovan Zogovich, writer from Vasoyevichi; Mikhailo Vuckovich, member of the Federated Party; Berica Grujich, army ensign; P. Vlasenich, judge from Priboy; Yavo Virkovich, mayor of Doljanice, member of the Democratic Party; George Kalezich, priest from Danilovgrad; Captain Metear Vuyovich.

5. Guerrillas Deplore Government Action

Communiqué of the Supreme Command of the Guerrilla and Volunteer Army, broadcast by radio station Free Yugoslavia on September 4, 1942:

IN CONNECTION with the edict of the Yugoslav Government depriving of rank a number of patriotic officers heroically fighting the occupation forces in the ranks of the Guerrilla and Volunteer Army, a few days ago a statement was published by a member of the Supreme Command of the Guerrilla and Volunteer Army, Colonel Savo Orovich. In his statement Colonel Orovich most emphatically opposes this practice of the Yugoslav Government in London, "which on the one hand deprives of rank the famous people's heroes, even those—and this is most outrageous—who have already sacrificed their lives for their country fighting against the occupation forces and the

traitors of the people; and on the other hand bestows ranks and distinction on the 'Fifth Column' monsters who have betrayed the people and are serving the occupationists."

' The famous patriot Savo Orovich concludes as follows:

"The just verdict of the people and of history will judge everyone according to his merits."

But, we ask, does not such practice by the Yugoslav Government in London hamper the development of our people's liberation struggle and why does not the government state the reasons which induced it to deprive of their rank the great number of patriots heroically fighting the occupation forces these last seventeen months?

In our opinion such practice has nothing in common with the statement of numerous individual members of this government on the need for unity, for unity is built in persistent labor and struggle, and not with empty phrases, not by degrading the patriotic officers who are heroically fighting a life and death battle against the occupation forces in the ranks of the Guerrilla and Volunteer Army.

6. Partisan Medical Congress

Summary of broadcast by radio station Free Yugoslavia.

A CONGRESS of doctors and medical workers of the Yugoslav Guerrilla and Volunteer Army, meeting from September 25 to September 27 somewhere on liberated territory, protested to the International Red Cross at Geneva against the barbarism of the fascist forces.

Doctors, nurses and wounded guerrillas have been subjected to unheard-of atrocities by the Nazi invaders, the Ustashi, and Chetniks.

Despite great hardships fifty doctors, as well as representatives of the ambulance service of the various guerrilla units, took part in the congress.

The conference discussed four main points: army surgery, ambulance service of the guerrilla army, first aid to the wounded and sick, and health protection of the population on liberated territory.

The sessions of the congress were presided over by Simo Miloshevich, former professor at Belgrade University.

7. Serbian Clergy Condemns Mikhailovich

A message to the people in the occupied and liberated territories of Yugoslavia, from the first Congress of Serbian clergymen and seminary students, held in Srbske Yasenice, Bosanska Kraina, broadcast by radio station Free Yugoslavia in November:

THE serbian people and clergy have firmly aligned themselves with the People's Liberation and Guerrilla and Volunteer Army of Yugoslavia, and call upon the Serbian people and clergymen in the occupied territory, as well as upon all other patriots and freedom-loving peoples and clergy of other faiths, to join them in the sacred people's liberation struggle.

For more than twenty years orthodox Serbians have been walled off from the fraternal Soviet people and from the Russian Orthodox Church. The official Serbian Church never allowed the people and clergy to learn the truth about the orthodox faith and other aspects of life in the Soviet Union. It took the Soviet

people's patriotic war against nefarious fascism to bring to our knowledge the fact that an orthodox church and clergy exist in Russia.

[The message further pointed to the fact that the extraordinary commission formed in Russia to investigate the fascist crimes and the damage caused by them on occupied Soviet territory lists among its eight members the outstanding sons of the Soviet people and also the Metropolitan Nikolay of Kiev and Galicia.]

Throughout many centuries there have never been witnessed such crimes as the burning and murder of hundreds of thousands of Serbians, such crimes as those perpetrated by the advocates of the "New Order" in Europe, such crimes as committed by the fascists in the sixteen months of their occupation of Yugoslavia. Therefore there is no justification for either bishop or priest, nor for any Serbian, collaborating with the occupationists.

In view of this, the collaboration with the fascists now practiced by some bishops and priests is a crime and treachery to the people; and the people disown them for it and place them on the same level with the nefarious occupationists. We equally disassociate ourselves from the White Guard emigre, the self-styled Metropolitan Hermogenus, the Pavelichan "head of the Croat Orthodox Church," who sows temptation and belittles the orthodox faith. Such is the point of view of our Congress—the sole point of view conforming with the traditions of our Church.

The present conduct of the reverend Patriarch Gabriel fully corresponds to the traditions and practices of our Church and therefore the people and clergy will justly continue to regard him as the head of the Serbian Church. We express deep appreciation of all those priests who died bravely fighting with

arms in hand against the nefarious occupationists and their servants, the traitors of the people, the Ustashi and Chetniks.

We similarly express appreciation for those martyrs, the Metropolitans, bishops and priests tortured to death by the Germans, Italians, Ustashi and Chetniks.

The priests serving with the guerrilla units and accompanying the victorious brigades to all parts of Yugoslavia have regenerated the church life of the Serbian people. They have opened numerous churches and resumed holy services. Wrecked and polluted churches have been purged and sanctified. Tens of thousands of children have been baptized; tens of thousands of killed and tortured have been given decent burial; hundreds of new homes have been sanctified; many thousands have received holy communion; services are being held for the people.

Never before has the Serbian clergy had so much freedom of worship and service as during the people's liberation war; never before have the Serbian priests been closer to the people and the people to them as today on liberated territory. The people and the Serbian clergy pledge to do all in their power to prevent religious differences from being the apple of discord among the people of Yugoslavia.

In the present people's war of liberation, the brotherhood of Serbs, Slovenes and Moslems has been sealed with blood, and no power will ever succeed in breaking their unity. Therefore, the Serbian clergy appeals to the Catholic and Moslem clergy to join their peoples who in growing numbers are swelling the ranks of the guerrillas. In this sacred liberation war the peoples of Yugoslavia have forged their brotherhood with the peoples of the Soviet Union and with all enslaved and freedom-loving peoples.

We reject and condemn the fratricidal war being conducted by the Chetniks of Mikhailovich jointly with the occupationists against the finest sons and daughters of the Yugoslav people and against the guerrillas.

The Congress accepts this present message in the presence of thousands of people and therefore justly expects the people and clergy on occupied territory to sincerely join the ranks of the People's Liberation Army and the Guerrilla and Volunteer Army of Yugoslavia, to speed and complete our victory; for the people and God are with us. *Death to fascism! Freedom to the people!*

[Signatures] Reverend Yovan Karamateyevich, the priest of the third brigade of Novi-Pazar-Sandjak; the Reverend Yugosh Simonovich, priest of the fourth shock brigade from Kolashin; Vlado Zecovich, the priest of the High Command of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia; Blazho Markovich, investigator of the Church Court in Cetinye and priest of the first shock brigade; the priest Vidak Dragich of the 10th Herzegovinian brigade; hieronymote Ruhim Zhukich, the priest of the second brigade; the priest Stevan Peich from Lyka; the priest Yovan Salay from Dalmatia; the priest Blazho Radoychich from Bosnia; priest Milan Ciganovich from Bosnia; priest Krstan Beyeljach from Bosnia; priest Bogdan Vuksan from Dobrocelo-Lyka;

Mato Antunovich, student of the Theological Faculty of Montenegro, of the fifth brigade; Radomir Sokolovich, student of the Bosnian Seminary, of the Kraish brigade; Ranko Dimich, seminary student of Lyka, of the ninth Croat brigade; Veselin Koprivica, seminary student, of the fifth Montenegrin brigade; Yovo Radoshevich, student of the Petrovac Seminary, of the fourth Kraish brigade;

Radovan Steyachich, seminary student, of the fifth Herzegovinian brigade; Slobodan Savich, seminary student, of the second Kraish brigade; Branko Boynovich, graduate of the Seminary of Lyka; Veselin Bulatovich, theological faculty student, of the Sandjak third brigade; Milan Obradovich, Veselin Kupovich, and Rastak Pavlovich, all seminary students of Sandjak, of the third brigade.

8. Yugoslav Constituent Assembly Elected

Broadcast by radio station Free Yugoslavia on Dec. 2, 1942.

THE Constituent Assembly of the Anti-Fascist Veche (Council) of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia met in session November 26 and 27 on liberated territory in the Bosnian town of Bihach. On the opening day delegates from all parts of the country entered the decorated hall. The session was attended by fifty-three delegates from Serbia, Montenegro, Sandjak, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and other parts.

There were prominent political and social leaders representing various parties; senators, clergymen, deputies, workers, peasants, representatives of the women's anti-fascist front, etc.

The meeting had a very festive character. In spite of the severe cold, thousands of people came to get the heroic people's representatives who had resolutely risen up to battle against bloody fascism and its hirelings.

In two days of fruitful work the Constituent Assembly adopted a resolution and an appeal to the people, and elected an Executive Committee of ten with a chairman and three vice-chairmen of various

nationalities. The Executive Committee will deal with all problems of public life and will be assisted by the people's liberation committees formed in almost all regions on liberated and non-liberated territory.

Ivan Ribar, elected chairman of the Veche, is a prominent political leader in Yugoslavia. A lawyer by profession, he had a law office in Djakov, Croatia. A member of the Independent Democratic Party (whose leader was Svetozar Pribicevich), in 1920 he was elected chairman of the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly.

The Constituent Assembly sent telegrams of greetings to Stalin, the heroic defenders of Stalingard, the high command of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill.

The telegrams were signed by Ivan Ribar on behalf of the Presidium of the Constituent Assembly of the Anti-Fascist Veche of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia.

The telegram to the chairman of the State Defense Committee of the U.S.S.R., Stalin, reads:

"The first greetings from the Constituent Assembly of the Anti-Fascist Veche of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia go to you, the great soldier and organizer of the victories of the freedom-loving peoples over fascism. By founding the Anti-Fascist Veche of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia, the peoples of our country have again clearly demonstrated their unswerving will and determination to fight shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of the Soviet Union until complete victory is won over the common enemy.

"An unbreakable brotherhood in arms has been formed in the present struggle between the peoples of

Yugoslavia and the great Soviet people. No one can ever break our unity. *Death to fascism! Freedom to the people!*"

The telegram to the heroic defenders of Stalingrad reads:

"In the name of the Constituent Assembly of the Anti-Fascist Veche of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia, which met in session in the liberated city of Bihach, the representatives of our country send to you, the splendid heroes of the invincible Red Army and the defenders of the great city of Stalin, their ardent fraternal greetings. The example of your struggle and your heroism has shown to the peoples the way to victory, has debunked all the legends about the 'invincibility' of the German troops and has been and is inspiring the men, commanders and political instructors of our heroic People's Liberation Army and of all the patriots of Yugoslavia to military exploits, to new sacrifices and efforts for victory over the common enemy, bloody fascism and its associates.

"Long live the brave defenders of Stalingrad! Freedom to the people!"

The telegram to the High Command of the People's Liberation Army and Guerrilla Detachments of Yugoslavia reads:

"In the name of the Constituent Assembly of the Anti-Fascist Veche of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia, held in liberated Bihach, we send to you, the wise leadership of the armed liberation struggle of our peoples, and through you to all the men, commanders and political commissars of our heroic People's Liberation Army, our ardent greetings. We deem it our duty before our people and the whole world once again to clearly express our appreciation and gratitude to the high command of your army, which under the leadership of its commander Tito has

for eighteen months been successfully waging the liberation war.

"The Anti-Fascist Veche of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia, as the nationwide organization of the anti-fascist front of the peoples in the present great struggle, will do everything to help the high command and our heroic army to strengthen the unity of all our forces, the unity of the front and rear, to speed the final victory of our peoples over the hated enemy—the occupationists and their Chetnik and Ustashi flunkies. *Death to fascism! Freedom to the People!*"

The telegram to President Franklin D. Roosevelt reads:

"On behalf of the Constituent Assembly of the Anti-Fascist Veche of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia, we send greetings to your esteemed honor and to the allied peoples of the United States. You may rely on the peoples of our country to continue the struggle together with all the freedom-loving peoples of the world until final victory over hated Hitlerism and its associates. *Death to fascism! Freedom to the People!*"

The telegram to Prime Minister Winston Churchill reads:

"On behalf of the Constituent Assembly of the Anti-Fascist Veche of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia we send greetings to your esteemed honour and the allied British people. The peoples of our country will continue to fight together with all the freedom-loving peoples of the world until final victory over hated Hitlerism and its associates. *Death to fascism! Freedom to the people!*"

9. Summary of Declaration of the Constituent Assembly

*Broadcast by Radio station Free Yugoslavia on
Dec. 15, 1942.*

WHAT are the results of the eighteen months of armed struggle against Hitler, Mussolini and their henchmen? The declaration considers the principal result the creation of the strong fighting unity of all the Yugoslav peoples in the struggle against the common enemy. This strong fighting unity involves all honest patriots of Yugoslavia regardless of nationality, religion or political convictions.

It unites men and women of various social strata regardless of the form in which this unity is expressed in various regions.

“In the armed struggle against the occupationists and their servants,” the declaration reads, “the peoples of Yugoslavia have set a lofty example of what can be accomplished by unarmed peoples in the fight against an enemy many times stronger, provided there is the will to fight for honor, freedom and independence, and provided that sacrifices are made in the struggle, confident that these sacrifices will not have been in vain.”

The highest expression of this unity of all the patriotic forces of Yugoslavia, the declaration points out, is the People’s Liberation Army. Originally isolated and weak guerrilla detachments, these were developed into regiments and brigades operating under the single leadership of the High Command headed by the brave commander-in-chief Tito.

The guerrillas began the struggle with bare hands. The People’s Liberation Army of Yugoslavia has been

and is arming itself at the expense of the enemy, and with such success that, as shown by the past few weeks and months, it is capable of extensive offensive operations.

"In the development of the popular uprising," reads the declaration, "and the steady influx of the popular masses into the ranks of the People's Liberation Army and Guerrilla Detachments of Yugoslavia, divisions and corps have been created which have before them great prospects of victory. Crowned with glory, the People's Liberation Army has coped with all of the offensives hitherto undertaken by the enemy. Its victories have raised our army to a factor of international importance.

"The representatives of all the nations of Yugoslavia declare for everybody to hear that all our peoples recognize this army, help it and see in it the sole force which is waging the sacred liberation struggle and is really capable of bringing this struggle to a victorious conclusion. At the same time the lie about the struggle allegedly conducted against the invader by the traitor Drazha Mikhailovich is being scattered to the winds right before the eyes of the whole world."

The declaration further states:

"The heroic defense of Stalingrad and the Caucasus in the face of tremendous odds as well as the glorious battles for Moscow and Leningrad last winter, not only inspired our peoples, but are the guarantee of the approaching final victory of the freedom-loving peoples over barbarous fascism. The enslaved Slav peoples have all the grounds for regarding the future with hope and confidence; for leading their struggle for liberation is the mighty Soviet Union with its heroic Red Army under the leadership of that brilliant soldier Stalin."

The peoples of Yugoslavia see their powerful friends in a coalition of great democratic powers, the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

"The peoples of Yugoslavia and their Liberation Army joyfully greet the victorious efforts of the American and British troops and the French fighting in North Africa, considering these great freedom-loving peoples as their allies in the struggle for the destruction of the fascist plague," says the declaration.

Citing the Soviet Government's note of September 14 last about the responsibility of the Hitler invaders and their associates for the crimes perpetrated in the occupied countries of Europe, the declaration goes on:

"With great pride the peoples of Yugoslavia have learned of the recognition accorded their people's liberation guerrilla struggle. In their declaration the peoples representatives state that they will continue to exert every effort to go on with this struggle, realizing the full significance of the words in the note 'beyond any doubt the successful development of the guerrilla struggle will be one of the most important conditions for the final rout of the enemy and for bringing nearer the hour of reckoning.'

"Together with all freedom-loving peoples, the Yugoslavs declare that they are keeping an account of all the crimes of the fascist villains, the German and Italian occupationists, and that not a single criminal must escape the justice of the people's court.

"The war minister of the Yugoslav Government, Drazha Mikhailovich, must be put in the dock together with the occupationists, together with Pavelich, Nedich, Lyotich and Pechanc for the crimes perpetrated by the Ustashi and Chetniks against the Serbs, Croats, Christians and Moslems of Yugoslavia," demands the declaration of the anti-fascist Veche.

Going over to the questions of the internal life of fighting Yugoslavia, the declaration notes primarily the thorough consolidation of the national front struggle in all parts of multi-national Yugoslavia. In Slovenia all the patriotic elements are united in a "Liberation Front" which has absorbed Christians, Socialists, Social-Democrats, members of the Sokol organization, Communists and all other democratic elements. Moreover, this unification took place despite the treachery or cowardice of many representatives of the former ruling circles.

The "People's Liberation Front" organizations in Croatia unite all the honest and patriotic elements of all the sections of the population in the ranks of the Croat Peasant Party in spite of the opportunist policy of "biding time" and "patience" advocated by Doctor Vlatko Macheck.

In Serbia the temporary military successes of the occupationists, which have become possible owing to the treachery of Nedich and Drazha Mikhailovich, have not undermined the fighting unity of the brave Serbian people. In Montenegro, whose people rose up to a man, the invaders made use of the services of the traitors Bayo Stanishich, Blazha Djukanovich and Krsto Popovich; but the people are again seeing the light and are rising in struggle.

In Herzegovina the guerrilla movement has never weakened, but on the contrary has grown and become stronger, which has facilitated the successes of the People's Liberation Army in western Bosnia, and the new upsurge of the armed liberation struggle in Dalmatia.

"As a result of the many months of brave and stoic struggle, symptoms of disintegration have appeared in the enemy camp. The starved and poorly trained Croat soldiers surrender *en masse* to our army,

which allows them to go home, regarding them as brothers who by force and deceit have been drawn by the enemy into the fight against us."

The declaration states that this strengthening of fighting unity is expressed in the formation of local people's liberation committees which "in the process of their development have been transformed into organs of the people's democratic power and have become the expression of the united will for liberation from the occupationists."

There is not a single village on liberated territory which does not have a people's liberation committee, while in the occupied districts these committees work illegally as important centers for rallying forces, organizing and uniting the heroic efforts of the popular masses for the cause of resistance to the occupationists.

"The tremendous scope of the people's liberation struggle, the high level achieved by it and the numerous and ever more complex tasks facing us demand the creation of such an institution which would unite the efforts of all the peoples of Yugoslavia for final victory," says the declaration of the anti-fascist Veche in setting forth its aims and tasks.

"We, the representatives of all the peoples of Yugoslavia, have decided to constitute ourselves in the anti-fascist Veche as the highest political expression of the unity of the Yugoslav peoples and as that institution which will still further elevate and develop the efforts of all the people's liberation committees and all the other mass anti-fascist organizations in the struggle for the liberation of the still occupied section of our country."

"The anti-fascist Veche and the executive committee elected by it will constitute a political, representative body, working with the chief in command of the people's liberation struggle and of our people's

army, and together direct the struggle for the national liberation of Yugoslavia."

The Veche lists as its principal tasks: the developing and strengthening of the already existing unity of the front and rear; the organization of supply to the People's Liberation Army and to the guerrilla detachments; the strengthening of the work of the people's liberation committees; the safeguarding of personal freedom and property; the raising of the cultural level of the people, the organization of social welfare and public health protection services.

Assuring the commander of the People's Liberation Army, Tito, of the full confidence in and appreciation of the High Command of the people's army, the anti-fascist Veche pledges vigilantly to guard the interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia and to exert every effort "to bring about the conditions of full freedom and equality in the fraternal family of liberated peoples, which no one will succeed in destroying, for it has been forged in the fire of common struggle."

10. Anti-Fascist Women of Yugoslavia Greet Women of the United States.

A conference of anti-fascist women was held on December 6 and 7, 1942, on liberated territory of Yugoslavia. The conference was attended by 160 delegates from different organizations and 400 guests.

The delegates arrived not only from liberated areas but also from areas still occupied, namely, from Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia.

Resolutions were adopted. Hundreds of organizations of the Anti-Fascist Women's Front were formed in all parts of the country, in the towns and villages.

Some of the organizations publish their own papers. The central organ of the Women's Anti-Fascist Front, Woman Today, appears regularly.

On December 18, radio station Free Yugoslavia broadcast the following greeting from this conference to the women of the United States and to Mrs. Roosevelt:

THE fascist occupationists and the home-grown traitors, the Ustashi and Chetniks of Drazha Mikhailovich, have perpetrated unprecedented crimes against the people of Yugoslavia, the women and innocent children. Our people formed their own youthful People's Liberation Army, which is inflicting strong blows on the enemies and traitors of our people.

We women of Yugoslavia are helping the struggle against fascism with all the strength and means at our disposal. From the platform of the first All-Yugoslav Conference of the Women's Anti-Fascist Front, convened on territory liberated by our fighters against the fascists, Ustashi and Chetniks, we greet the women of the United States. The fighting unity of women the world over, led by the brave Soviet women, can do much to strengthen the alliance of all freedom-loving peoples. With you, the women of our great allied country, we want to establish still greater unity in the struggle against the common enemy. Strengthen your blows against the enemies of all mankind, the German fascists! Let us avenge the innocent children and violated women!

Let us strengthen still further our aid to the fighters against the bloody villains—may this be our common motto.

With militant greetings,

Presidium of the First Conference of the Women's Anti-Fascist Front of Yugoslavia.

II. Free Yugoslavia Refutes New York Times

Commuque of the High Command of the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, broadcast by radio station Free Yugoslavia on Dec. 18, dealing with the article on alleged victories of Mikhailovich, published in the New York Times of Dec. 8.

THE Times article is a complete invention. Fighting near the town of Srbobran in Yoyvodina were guerrillas and not Mikhailovich Chetniks. Neither were his Chetniks fighting the Germans at Danilovgrad, as there is not a single German soldier in Montenegro. There are only Italians in Montenegro with whom Mikhailovich is allied and from whom he received his power as reward for helping to dislodge a great number of guerrillas from Montenegro.

No one in Kopaonik knows anything about the battles conducted by the Chetniks but everybody knows about the battles conducted by the guerrillas. All other information is false with the exception of the statement that near the village of Semec in East Bosnia (and it is not a city as there is not a city in Yugoslavia with such a name) Mikhailovich's Chetniks clashed with the Ustashi.

The article as a whole is a stupid piece of false propaganda. It is rather surprising that a newspaper published in one of the Allied countries should circulate such a falsehood. This is all the more lamentable, since despite all the sacrifices, we are wrecking the railways and transport to prevent the enemy from shipping army units and equipment to Africa, while the Chetniks of Mikhailovich patrol the railways for the enemy.

[Further, *Free Yugoslavia* declared that the High Command has extended an invitation to a delegation of representatives of the Allied countries to visit the liberated regions of Yugoslavia so that the delegates could see for themselves the untruth in the reports about the alleged victories of Mikhailovich and learn the true facts about Mikhailovich's betrayal. This would deprive him of the possibility of misleading anti-fascist public opinion and open the eyes of those who still doubt.]

12. Yugoslav Youth Congress Greets Youth of America

*Broadcast by radio station Free Yugoslavia on
Jan. 5, 1943.*

ON DEC. 27, 1942, the first anti-fascist youth congress in Yugoslavia opened in Bihach with 356 delegates representing the youth of Yugoslavia, including 100 delegates from army units and guerrilla detachments, and several delegates from occupied cities. Present at the inaugurating session were Commander-in-Chief Tito, representing the High Command; representatives of the anti-fascist Veche; the women's anti-fascist front, etc.

The following appeal to the youth in the occupied countries of Europe was adopted:

"It is already nineteen months that the young generation of our country has been making tremendous efforts, devoting all its strength and energy, to the sacred cause of the liberation struggle of our peoples.

"The fascist hangmen and their local support—the Ustashi and Chetniks of Drazha Mikhailovich—have

covered our country with graves, depleted our richest regions and districts. But they did not succeed in intimidating us. We went forward, defending every inch of our native land with our blood. We are convinced that fascism can be successfully fought in its rear. We are convinced that the people can create a mighty invincible army from next to nothing. We are convinced that with our own forces we can defend our land and free it from the occupationists. We are furthermore convinced that only through unity can we win a better future for ourselves.

"In the last three months alone the People's Liberation Army and guerrilla detachments of Slovenia and Croatia destroyed some 12,000 occupationist dogs and traitors, and captured 5 guns and 266 machine guns. There were 17,535 Germans, Italians, Ustashi and Chetniks killed in Western Bosnia alone in the last six months and 27,500 enemy soldiers taken prisoner. The patriots captured 45 guns, 60 mortars, 248 heavy and 283 light machine guns. They destroyed 19 tanks and 6 planes. But this is not all. Throughout our country guerrilla detachments are ruthlessly destroying the enemy; dozens of trains blow up, communications wrecked, stores destroyed. The People's Liberation Army is diverting against itself dozens of German, Italian, Hungarian, Bulgarian and Ustashi divisions.

"As a result of violent battles 48,000 square kilometers of our native land is already liberated. There is not a single fascist reptile now on this territory, which is governed by the people."

"Freedom is not served up on a gold platter," warns the appeal, addressing the young generation in the enslaved countries and the oppressed Slav peoples in particular. "It is won with arms in hand—this is the lesson of history, of the liberation struggle of our peoples, the lesson of the reality of today."

"Young Poles, Czechs! We have the same fate and one common enemy! Follow the example of the youth of Russia!"

The appeal further warns youth of Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria to beware of following the example of the German youth and not let Hitler convert them into his watchdogs.

"Hitler's fate," the appeal concludes, "will be sealed if we strain every effort and strike a mortal blow at his army, his state and his New Order in Europe.

"Forward to battle, youth of the defeated but not subjugated peoples of Europe! No more waiting and delay! The hour has struck for final reckoning with bloody fascism! The peoples will never forgive anyone who is guilty of inaction, cowardice or treachery in these days! Forward to the offensive! Ours is a just cause! Victory will be ours!"

The congress adjourned Dec. 29. Following is the message of greetings sent to the British and American youth:

"We, the delegates of the youth of all our people assembled in liberated Bihach at the first anti-fascist youth congress of Yugoslavia, send you our militant, fraternal greetings. We are giving all our strength for one sacred aim—victory over the common enemy, bloody fascism. No hardships, no sacrifices can swerve us from this path. More successfully than ever our heroic People's Liberation Army under the leadership of its high command is fighting our enemies—the Germans, Italians, Ustashi and Chetnik traitors of Mikhailovich. With arms in hand we are fighting together with you for freedom.

"Young sons of England and America! Strike at the enemy with greater force and determination! Unite all your forces in the labor for victory! Do everything

to hasten the final rout of hated fascism, the hour when the sun of freedom will rise for all peoples! *Everything for the front, everything for victory!* We shake your hands in fraternal greetings. *Death to fascism! Freedom to the people!*"

*First Anti-Fascist Youth
Congress of Yugoslavia*

[Signatures] Ranko Shipka, assistant commander, Kczara Brigade, Borica Zhivanovich, machine-gunner, Second Serbian Brigade; Milka Kufrin, girl guerrilla, Zhumberach Detachment of Croatia; Ivan Ribar, Secretary, Central Committee, Young Communist League of Yugoslavia; Juko Smokolak, delegate of the Lyka youth; Mati Stonich, assistant battalion commander, Dalmatian Brigade; Rato Rugonich, Bosnian youth delegate; Ajsa Malichevich, girl guerrilla from Kozara; Dragich Dzhurashevich, fighter, Montenegro Brigade; Lubinka Milosavlevich, young woman delegate from Serbia; Vukica Mandich, peasant woman from Ortmec; Votin Kovachechich, student delegate from Montenegro; Drago Eslich from Croatia; Vilka Ilich, peasant woman from Croatia; Ernest Slatovina; Stojan Belajay, peasant; Bran Kozarich from Dalmatia and N. N. from Herzegovina.

MIHAJOVICH AND THE PARTISANS

(Reprinted from *People's War*, 31st October, 1943)

In the spring in 1941 the Nazi Panzers overwhelmed Yugoslavia within a week. The Court and Government fled the country. Yet today in the front pages of the world's most important newspapers communiques of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia take a proud place. How has this happened? Whence did this Army appear? Who form this army, today 300,000 strong? What is the story of this Army of an avenging people whom Hitler thought he had crushed and destroyed—a people who are the first of all Hitler's victims to build their own army, establish their own government?

After defeat, into the mountain fortresses of Montenegro, Bosnia and Slovenia escaped all those Yugoslavs who were determined to see that Hitler should not be allowed with impunity to exploit and devastate their land. And it is these patriots who have built the mighty three hundred thousand strong Yugoslav Liberation Army—an Army which Rommel, one of Hitler's ablest generals, has been sent to defeat and exterminate. Their beginnings were small. But slowly hundreds of patriots made their way to the mountains. As their numbers grew they began to venture into the plains. By July 1941, they were masters of over 30 towns and hundreds of villages; by the end of 1942 a hundred towns and thousands of villages were in their hands.

It was at this time too that the partisans called together a democratic National Assembly, the Vetsche, to direct and lead their struggle for freedom. The Army and the Vetsche together issued a manifesto of democracy and freedom for the peoples of Yugoslavia. By now the partisans had taken firm roots among the people.

PROBLEMS THEY FACED

But all this they accomplished in the face of tremendous difficulties. Arms they captured from the invading forces themselves. Clothes and food came willingly and in profusion from the people. All the murder, rape and terror, burning of villages practised by the Nazi Army vandals failed to break the spirit of the people.

But more than this were the political problems. Originally the puppet regimes of Nedic in Serbia, Pavelic in Croatia, were their only enemies besides the Nazi invaders. And as the partisan movement grew in strength, it won the support of all nationalities, drew all nations behind it—Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia—all classes, all progressive parties.

MIHAJOVICH LEGEND

Yet this very success began to terrify some of the anti-democratic elements led by the notorious Mihailovich who had originally opposed Hitler. These reactionary elements backed by the Serbian landholders and big capitalists aimed at re-establishing a Yugoslavia where the Serbian ruling-class would still be supreme. Naturally they took fright at the development of a democratic liberation movement based upon the united strength of equal and free nationalities. Slandering these Partisans as “cut-throats, murderers, Communists”, these Chetniks under Mihailovich had the impudence to claim all credit for the achievements of the Partisans. With the help of their supporters in the exile Government in London they built a ‘heroic legend’ round Mihailovich.

Yet all this time they were slowly slipping from the path of resistance. They began to join the Axis puppets in attacking the Partisans, rejecting every offer of the latter to fight unitedly to expel Hitler.

MYTH EXPLODED

But the *Free Yugoslav Radio* operating under the command of the Liberation Army exploded this myth on July 21, 1942. Seventy-five prominent Yugoslav patriots, including among them priests, leading figures of the Independent, Democratic, Agrarian and Peasant parties, led by Senator Morko Vayachich, categorically declared:

"Fratricidal war has been provoked and conducted on our territory under the leadership of Drazha Mihailovich, about whose treachery there is official evidence..."

The radio repeatedly stated in clear and explicit terms:

"The partisans have never put the question of Communism on the order of the day either inside the Army or outside it. Only one programme interests the democratic people's army: Free Yugoslavia of the Fascist troops of occupation."

It demanded that all pro-Fascist troops be cleaned out of the Chetniks. There was only one place for the traitors—the wall facing the firing squad!

At the beginning, the Partisans were ignored. Mihailovich was boosted. Later the Soviet Government wrote a sharp note to the Yugoslav Government, the Moscow Radio started to broadcast the *communiques* of the *Free Yugoslav Radio*. Silence, about Partisans became impossible, slander and abuse began. But as the democratic movement in Britain and U.S.A. began to learn the true facts, into the world press came a grudging recognition of the Partisans as fighters against Hitler, though differing from Mihailovich. The idea of "rapprochement" was mooted.

King Peter openly sought that aid of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. for military advisers on Yugoslav

soil "to unify resistance". *Observer*, London Tory paper, demanded an end to the "Indecision" of the British Foreign Office and that "representatives of Yugoslavia's new political forces should be brought to London as the rise of the partisans is an obvious development not reflected in the *emigre* government."

PARTISANS WILL WIN

But all these efforts have failed. While the fall of Mussolini has meant a tremendous upsurge in the Yugoslav liberation movement strengthened by as many as 50,000 Italian soldiers, it has also seen Mihailovich guilty of even more treacherous actions than before. The *Free Yugoslavia Radio* on October 6th has clearly emphasised that there is no connection between the Partisans and General Mihailovich. It still accuses Mihailovich of co-operating with the Croat and Serbian quislings of the enslavers, the German forces in Yugoslavia.

King Peter is now in Cairo. He has been forced to admit that his Government will help all forces in Yugoslavia fighting against Hitler. Allied officers have, it is reported, made contact with the headquarters of the Yugoslav Liberation Army. Tremendous possibilities open up in Yugoslavia for an offensive to drive Hitler out and free the country.

Day after day news pours in of fresh advances and retreats, renewed and ferocious counter-attacks by the Partisans. Their struggle is mounting in strength and fury.

There is no doubt that despite the intrigues of reactionaries inside the Yugoslav Government, despite the reluctance of the British and American Governments to recognise the role of the Liberation Army and the common people, who have suffered and fought so that Yugoslavia might live, it is they who will ensure the defeat of Hitler and the establishment of a new and free Yugoslavia.

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